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Nachrichten

Nachrufe

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Siglenverzeichnis

ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum
ADSV	Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AHC	Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum
APF	Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BSFN	Bulletin de la Sociéte française de numismatique
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIC	Corpus Iuris Civilis
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DA	Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EB	Études Balkaniques
EEBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
FGH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center Egypt
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JECS	Journal of Early Christian Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJurP	Journal of Juristic Papyrology
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OrChrist	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RÉArm	Revue des Études Arméniennes
RÉB	Revue des Études Byzantines
RÉG	Revue des Études Grecques
RÉSEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RHT	Revue d'histoire des textes
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité
ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RömQ	Römische Quartalsschrift
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
ZAC	Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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I. ABTEILUNG

Aslıhan Akışık-Karakullukçu

A question of audience: Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Hellenism

Abstract: By focusing on the known details of Laonikos Chalkokondyles' biography, on his relation to Byzantine historiographical tradition, by comparing his historical work to that of contemporary intellectuals living under the Ottomans as well as those in the west, examining his portrayal of Mehmed II, his adoption of a Herodotean model, the revival of Herodotus in the Renaissance more generally, and the reception of the *Ἀπόδειξις* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I argue that Laonikos was writing for an elite circle of Byzantine émigrés and other intellectuals with access to classical Greek in the west, rather than for the post-Byzantine intellectuals associated with the Ottoman court.

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> Λαονἰκου τοῦ ἀθηναίου. δοκοῦσι δὲ ἔμοιγε οἱ ἕλληνες χρησάμενοι ἀρετῇ μείζονι ἢ κατὰ ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἀποδείξασθαι μὲν ἔργα οἷα ἡμᾶς πυνθανομένους ἐκπλήττεσθαι, τυχεῖν δὲ κήρυκος οὐ πολλῷ τινι τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ἀποδέοντος ἡροδότου ἁλικαρνασέως, τούτων ἢ ἕκαστα ἐγένετο οὗ θείη πομπῇ ἐπεξιόντος.

> (Belonging to) Laonikos the Athenian. It seems to me that the Hellenes displayed a virtue greater than human for they performed deeds which amaze us when we inquired and (it seems to me) that the Hellenes had a herald who is not much inferior in worth to the deeds

The research and writing for this paper was undertaken with the support of a Princeton University, Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies Postdoctoral Research Fellowship and a TÜBİTAK BİDEB 2219 postdoctoral fellowship. The late Angeliki Laiou suggested Laonikos Chalkokondyles as a research topic and supervised the initial research until her untimely passing away. I extend thanks to Elizabeth Jeffreys, Cemal Kafadar, Marc Lauxtermann, Amy Remensnyder, Anthony Ellis, and James Howard-Johnston. This is a first response to Anthony Kaldellis' monograph on Laonikos to which I did not have access when I finished my doctoral dissertation. I supply my own translations for all the quoted passages from the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* which in some instances differ from those of Kaldellis.

themselves. I mean Herodotos of Halikarnassos who described in detail with his divine guidance the manner in which each of these (deeds) took place.[1]

This epigraph was composed by Laonikos the Athenian (Chalkokondyles), one of the most popular medieval/Renaissance historians writing in Greek in print well into the seventeenth century.[2] It is found on the last folio of a fourteenth-century Herodotus manuscript, on which more later. This particular manuscript was prized by George Gemistos Pletho (d. 1454),[3] the Platonist philosopher and Judge General[4] of the Byzantine Empire, and by his Mistra Circle and points to the ways in which these intellectuals engaged with the distant past in order to make sense of contemporary reality and analyzed events with the tool-box of

1 Plut. gr. 70.06, 340v. A. Turyn, Dated Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the libraries of Italy 2 vols. Urbana 1972; idem, The Byzantine manuscript tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides. Rome 1970, 230: I have two emendations to Turyn's transcription. I read θείῃ rather than θεία and include οὗ. Based on this reading, I provide a different translation than that offered by Kaldellis for the last sentence. The common Herodotean phrase θείῃ πομπῇ is traditionally translated as "divinely sent/with divine guidance". θείῃ πομπῇ occurs in Hdt. 1.62, 3.77, 4.152, 8.94, see J. Enoch Powell, A Lexicon to Herodotus. Cambridge 1938, entry 6859. Furthermore, Laonikos used Herodotean vocabulary in the epigraph and the historian's word choice to describe Herodotus' writing of these deeds, "ἐπεξιόντος," corresponds to the way in which Herodotus chose to describe his own composition: ὁμοίως μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών Hdt. 1.5. For Kaldellis' translation of the epigraph, see A. Kaldellis, A new Herodotos. Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the fall of Byzantium, and the emergence of the West. Washington D.C. 2014, 46.

2 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Laonici Chalcocandylae Historiarum Demonstrationes, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols. Budapest 1922–1928.) The entire work has recently been translated into English. A. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories, Laonikos Chalkokondyles. 2 vols. Cambridge/London 2014. Laonikos' history was first printed in Latin and translated by Conrad Clauser in 1556 in Basel based on an earlier Latin translation. The French translation by the cryptographer Blaise de Vigenere was printed in 1577 in Paris. The original Greek text appeared later than its Latin and French translations in a bilingual edition printed in 1615 in Geneva. For the printing history and early modern editions, see G. Della Rocca de Candal, Bibliographia Historica Byzantina: a historical and bibliographical description of the early editions of the Corpus Historiae Byzantinae (1556–1645). PhD diss. University of Oxford 2016.

3 Pletho's loyal disciple Demetrios Raoul Kabakes had noted that the philosopher passed away in 1452, which was followed in the secondary literature until recently. Monfasani provided a different date, based on manuscript and various textual evidence, and demonstrated that the philosopher died in 1454. J. Monfasani, Pletho's date of death and the burning of his laws. *BZ* 98 (2006) 459–463.

4 I extend thanks to Kostis Smyrlis, who attracted my attention to an Athonite document from the monastery of Vatopedi, which conclusively proves that Plethon was Judge General of the Romans: J. Lefort/V. Kravari/Ch. Giros/K. Smyrlis/R. Estangüi Gómez (eds.), Actes de Vatopédi III, de 1377 à 1500. *Archives de l'Athos*, 23 (forthcoming), no. 204.

concepts they inherited from the classical world. As it is evident from the epigraph, Laonikos considered Herodotus to be divinely guided, which is a surprising and unusual compliment by a Byzantine for a pagan author. It should be also noted at the outset that Laonikos' interest in Herodotus and in the ancient Hellenes influenced his historical program. Laonikos is unique in the long and illustrious Byzantine historiographical tradition for having abandoned the traditional Roman identity and to have consistently referred to the protagonists of his narrative as Hellenes and to have located the Romans in the west since the time of Charlemagne, referring to the Papacy, the Carolingians, the Holy Roman Emperors, their political culture, and customs as Roman institutions.[5] According to Laonikos, the Byzantines were directly descended from the Hellenes who had destroyed Troy. Laonikos stressed this continuity throughout the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* (the title of Laonikos' history is itself testimony to Herodotus' influence) by using the same signifier, "Hellene," to refer to the ancient Greeks as well as to his fifteenth-century contemporaries.

The historical circumstances of the fifteenth century provide a backdrop to Laonikos' *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* which was completed sometime after 1464. Laonikos, who was the only historian in Pletho's Mistra Circle, witnessed great change in the political map of his *patris* when the Ottoman armies of Mehmed II (1444–46 and 1451–81) captured Constantinople in 1453.[6] Athens was conquered in 1456, Mistra and the Despotate of the Peloponnese was incorporated into the Ottoman state in 1460, and the final remaining independent east Roman principality, the Empire of Trebizond, surrendered to Mehmed II in 1461. When Laonikos

5 A. Nimet, Bizans'ın Son Osmanlıların İlk Tarihçileri. *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 3 (1935) 185–206; H. Ditten, Βάρβαροι Ἕλληνες und Ῥωμαῖοι bei den letzten byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibern, in: Acts of the XIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies II. Belgrade 1964, 273–299; idem, Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles. Berlin 1968; N. Nicoloudis, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, translation and commentary of the 'Demonstrations of Histories' (Books I–III). Athens 1996; A. Markopoulos, Das Bild des Anderen bei Laonikos Chalkokondyles und das Vorbild Herodot. *JÖB* 20 (2000) 205–216; J. Harris, Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the rise of the Ottoman Turks. *BMGS* 27 (2003) 153–170; F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Kroniği ve Değerlendirmesi (V.–VII. Bölümler). PhD diss. Ankara Üniversitesi 2005; A. Akışık, Self and other in the Renaissance: Laonikos Chalkokondyles and late Byzantine intellectuals. PhD diss. Harvard University, 2013.

6 For a recent extensive account of this seminal event, detailed analysis of the primary sources, and exhaustive treatment of the secondary sources, see M. Philippides / W. Hanak, The siege and the fall of Constantinople in 1453: Historiography, topography, and military studies. Oxford/New York 2011.

set out to record these cataclysmic events in the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν*, he used the genre of universal history. Laonikos embedded the main narrative on "the end of the Hellenes" and on "the rise of the Turks to great power, in fact to the greatest power that they have achieved so far"[7] in a larger framework which included a plethora of historical and contemporary peoples and polities, extending from the British Isles to Central Asia, from Denmark to Egypt, to the Red Sea, to the Indian Ocean.

Laonikos' extensive scope and historical vision is manifest in his groundbreaking definition of identity that was at once comparative and relativistic. He associated and distinguished between different peoples (arguing, for example, that the Venetians were related to the Hellenes by recourse to geographical dispersion theories) by analyzing their identities with the following categories: religious system/θρησκεία, customs/ἤθη, language/φωνή, descent/γένος, and political structure/ἀρχή and βασιλεία. In this scheme, Hellenic identity is a localized instance, albeit one that was of profound importance to Laonikos. What are the defining characteristics of Laonikos' understanding of Hellenic identity? In my opinion, a historically contingent contextualization is more useful for defining Hellenic identity in the Renaissance than diachronic analysis and it is also more correct than the persistence of an idea of Hellenism from antiquity to modern times. This is not to say that Laonikos' formulation of identity was not informed by his reading of classical Greek literature and philosophy. In fact, Pletho, Laonikos, and other members of the Mistra Circle played a seminal role in the revival of Herodotus as a trustworthy historian and introduced the ancient historian to Renaissance Europe, as we shall see. Similarly Pletho's Platonic credentials and formative impact on the development of philosophy through his disciples is well-known.[8] Laonikos belonged to Pletho's circle in Mistra and was influenced by Pletho's study of Herodotus[9] and novel formulation of Hellenic

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7 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 2: τῆς τε Ἑλλήνων φημὶ τελευτῆς τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἐπισυμβεβηκότα, καὶ Τούρκων ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως καὶ ἐπὶ μέγιστον τῶν πώποτε ἤδη ἀφικομένων. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 2–3.
8 F. Masai, Pléthon et le Platonisme de Mistra. Paris 1956; C.M. Woodhouse, Gemistos Plethon: The last of the Hellenes. Oxford 1986; J. Hankins, Plato in the Italian Renaissance. Leiden/New York/Københaun/Köln 1990; J. Monfasani, Platonic paganism in the fifteenth century, in M.A. Di Cesare (ed.), Reconsidering the Renaissance. New York 1992, 45–61; B. Tambrun, Pléthon le retour de Platon. Paris 2006; N. Siniossoglou, Radical Platonism in Byzantium: illumination and utopia in Gemistos Plethon. Cambridge 2011; V. Hladky, The philosophy of Gemistos Plethon: Platonism in late Byzantium, between Hellenism and Orthodoxy. Surrey/Burlington VT 2014.
9 Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above) 59–77; 216–218.

identity.[10] By focusing on the known details of Laonikos' biography, on his relation to Byzantine historiographical tradition, by comparing his historical work to that of contemporary intellectuals living under the Ottomans as well as those in the west, and by examining his portrayal of Mehmed II, his adoption of a Herodotean model, the revival of Herodotus in the Renaissance more generally, and the reception of the *Ἀπόδειξις* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, I argue that Laonikos was writing for an elite circle of Byzantine émigrés, among them Pletho's famous student Cardinal Bessarion (d. 1472) and Laonikos' cousin Demetrios Chalkokondyles (1423–1511), and other intellectuals with access to classical Greek in the west, rather than for the post-Byzantine intellectuals associated with the Ottoman court.

Laonikos Chalkokondyles' Early Life in the Fifteenth-Century Eastern Mediterranean

As we know relatively few secure details about Laonikos' life, it is difficult to demonstrate the full interplay between Laonikos' biography and his historical work. The greater portion of our information about Laonikos and his family relies on what the historian included in the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν*.[11] Based on a specific passage in the Proem, wherein Laonikos refers to the extent of the territories that the Hellenes held at the time of his birth, scholars have argued that he must have been born circa 1430–1432.[12] Laonikos belonged to the aristocratic Athenian family of the Chalkokondyli who were expelled from their native Athens after a failed coup by George Chalkokondyles, the historian's father. Laonikos re-

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10 M.V. Anastos, Pletho's calendar and liturgy. *DOP* 4 (1948) 183–303; L. Bargeliotes, Plethon as a forerunner of neo-Hellenic and modern European consciousness. *Diotima* 1 (1973) 33–60; N.P. Peritore, The political thought of Gemistos Plethon: a Renaissance Byzantine reformer. *Polity* 10.2 (1977) 168–191; S. Vryonis, Byzantine cultural self-consciousness in the fifteenth century, in S. Ćurčić / D. Mouriki (eds.), The twilight of Byzantium. Princeton 1991, 5–14; T. Shawcross, A new Lykourgos for a new Sparta: George Gemistos Plethon and the Despotate of the Morea, in S. Gerstel (ed.), Viewing the Morea. Washington D.C. 2013, 419–452.
11 W. Miller, The last Athenian historian: Laonikos Chalkokondyles. *JHS* 42 (1922) 36–49; E. Darkó, Zum Leben des Laonikos Chalkondyles. *BZ* 24 (1923–1924) 29–39; idem, Neue Beiträge zur Biographie des Laonikos Chalkokandyles. *BZ* 27 (1927) 276–285; F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Hayatı ve "Tarih"i. *Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 21 (2007) 41–57; Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above); A. Kaldellis, The date of Laonikos Chalkokondyles' *Histories*. *GRBS* 52 (2012) 111–136.
12 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 6–7. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 10–11.

vealed the details of these events in the *Ἀπόδειξις*. After Antonio I Acciajuoli (d. 1435), the Florentine Duke of Athens, died, the Duke's widow attempted to succeed to the rule with the help of George. The widow happened to be George's relative, Laonikos tells us. The widow sent George with a substantial amount of gold to the Ottoman court to secure the endorsement of Sultan Murad II (1421–44, 1446–51) for their joint bid to power in Athens. George's embassy was unsuccessful, and his family was expelled from the city circa 1435.[13] Elsewhere, Laonikos tells us that Constantine XI (1449–53), Despot of the Peloponnesus at the time, sent the Athenian Chalkokondyles, when the family was now based in Mistra, on another embassy to Murad II during the Despot's campaigns to restore the Duchy of Athens to his rule.[14] Murad II not only imprisoned George Chalkokondyles in Serres, he also restored Ottoman control over the region. Scholars have drawn attention to Laonikos' word choice in describing the ensuing Ottoman military campaign against the Isthmus and the Peloponnesus in 1446, which may indicate that the historian was an eyewitness.[15] The *Ἀπόδειξις* concludes with the events of the Venetian-Ottoman war of 1464 which provides the terminus post quem for the composition of the work. This is roughly all the firm and overt biographical information that Laonikos includes in the *Ἀπόδειξις*. In addition to these valuable details, we also have the diary entry of the Italian merchant and humanist Cyriac of Ancona (1391–1452). In late July – early August 1447, Cyriac was visiting Pletho in Mistra when he met "Nicolaus"[16] Chalkokondyles. Cyriac referred to Pletho and Laonikos in the same breath, to the former as "the most learned of the Greeks in our time", "in his life, character and teaching is a brilliant and highly influential philosopher in the Platonic tradition" and to Laonikos as the "gifted young Athenian" "remarkably learned in both Latin and Greek literature."[17] Although Laonikos does not openly reference Pletho in the

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13 Laonikos Chalkokondlyes (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 93–94. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 66–69.

14 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 113–114. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 104–105.

15 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 115: δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτο στρατόπεδον κάλλιστα πάντων δὴ στρατοπέδων, *ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ ἀκοῇ ἐπυθόμεθα*, τά τε περὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν σιτίων ἀφθονίαν κράτιστα μηχανήσασθαι (emphasis added). Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 108–109.

16 Laonikos Chalkokondyles' birth-name was Nikolaos and he changed it to the more classical-sounding anagram, Laonikos, sometime after Cyriac's visit in 1447. Some of the manuscripts of the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* preserve his birth-name Nikolaos, while others refer to him as Laonikos in their titles.

17 Cyriac of Ancona, Later travels ed. and tr. E.W. Bodnar / C. Foss. Cambridge/London 2003, 298–301.

Ἀπόδειξις, his formulation of Hellenism and Herodotean method indicate Plethonian influence.

Already this overview presents the complex milieu wherein one should evaluate Laonikos' historical work. The fourteenth and early fifteenth-century eastern Mediterranean was not politically, culturally, linguistically, and religiously homogenous to any degree. It was not ruled over by a single state nor was there a centripetal capital. It was hotly contested between various western polities/structures (among them Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, the Angevins, the Catalans), the Byzantine emperors of Constantinople also ruling over the Despotate of the Peloponnesus, and Turkic principalities (the Ottomans, Aydınoğulları, Menteşe, Karasi, and Saruhanoğulları). The movement of people between different polities, in this instance the exile of the Chalkokondyli family from Athens to Byzantine Mistra illustrates the fluidity of political allegiances. Further, the interpenetration of the western entities in the region had led to a new kind of society with economic, cultural, and political ties to Italian city-states, France, and Spain. Importantly, the growing power of the Ottomans in the fifteenth century represented a centralizing impulse that transformed the eastern Mediterranean.[18]

Byzantine Historiographical Tradition and Laonikos' Later Life

Laonikos' methodological solution to make sense of this amorphous social reality, the Ottoman military conquests, and the obliteration of all eastern Roman political entities was highly innovative in the particular way in which he revised Herodotus' philosophy of history to explain the unfolding of contemporary events. Before I engage with this premise, it is worth summarizing how Laonikos' historical writing also represents a complete departure from the continuous and millennium-long Byzantine historiographical tradition and from his contemporary historians writing in Greek. Highbrow Byzantine historians, writing in classicizing Greek language with unmediated linguistic access to the Hellenic heritage, had fused notions of just empire, lawful imperialism, the universality of Christian religion to create a sense of "timelessness", to justify the hierarchical power structures in Byzantine society, and to instill belief in the immutability of

18 J. Harris / C. Holmes / E. Russell (eds.), Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the eastern Mediterranean world after 1150. Oxford 2012.

their Roman Empire with its capital in Constantinople.[19] Unlike the medieval west where the Roman imperial office had ceased to exist after the fifth century, the Byzantine empire was conspicuous for its administrative longevity and imperially sponsored historians employed the classical political dichotomy between Roman and barbarian which supplemented their Christian outlook while their western medieval counterparts focused on the opposition between Christian and heathen.[20] Laonikos was not the only fifteenth-century historian writing in Greek who had to explain the unraveling of this perennial link between Roman Empire and Christianity but his response was the most original.

The historian Doukas (c. 1400– c. 1462 or later)[21], who was an administrator for the Genoese and later for the Genoese family of the Gattilusi in the eastern Mediterranean and whose historical narrative ends with the Ottoman siege of Mytilene in 1462, made recourse to an eschatological argument to explain the calamities. In doing so, he used the traditional assumed connection between God and his chosen people. Doukas, an avowed pro-Unionist, considered the misfortunes of the Romans to be God's punishment for the intransigence of Orthodox religious leaders and the mob in Constantinople, who obstructed the union of the churches until the fall of the capital in 1453. According to Doukas,

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19 C. Mango, Byzantine literature as a distorting mirror. Oxford 1975; P. Magdalino, Aspects of twelfth-century Byzantine Kaiserkritik. *Speculum* 58 (1983) 326–346; J. Haldon, Towards a social history of Byzantium; idem, Social élites, wealth, and power, in J. Haldon (ed.), A social history of Byzantium. Chichester 2009; R. Scott, The classical tradition in Byzantine historiography, in M. Mullett / R. Scott (eds.), Byzantium and the classical tradition. Birmingham 1981, 35–47; H. Hunger, On the imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of antiquity in Byzantine literature. *DOP* 23 (1969–1970) 15–38; C. Mango, Discontinuity with the classical past in Byzantium, in Mullett/Scott, Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, ibid. 48–60; M.C. Bartusis, The functions of archaizing in Byzantium. *Byzantinoslavic*a 56 (1995) 271–278.

20 W. Goffart, The narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon. Princeton 1988. W.R. Jones, The image of the barbarian in medieval Europe. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13 (1971) 376–407. R.W. Rix, The barbarian north in Medieval imagination: ethnicity, legend, and literature. New York 2015. P. Jackson, Christians, barbarians and monsters: the European discovery of the world beyond Islam, in P. Linehan / J. Nelson (eds.), The medieval world. New York 2003, 93–111.

21 Doukas: Ducas, Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1341–1462), ed. V. Grecu. Bucharest 1958. The Bonn edition contains the old Italian translation and continuation: Ducae Historia Byzantina, ed. I. Bekker. Bonn 1834. The English translation only contains the text of Doukas without the continuation: H. Magoulias (transl.), Decline and fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks. Detroit 1975. W. Miller, The historians Doukas and Phrantzes. *JHS* 46 (1926) 63–71; D.R. Reinsch, Lieber den Turban als was? Bemerkungen zum Dictum des Lukas Notaras, in C.N. Constantinides / N.M. Panagiotakes / E. Jeffreys / A.D. Angelou (eds.), ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in honour of Robert Browning. Venice 1996, 377–389.

the Ottomans, having no real history or lasting organization because they were brigands of mixed blood (μιξοβάρβαροι)[22], were the indirect beneficiaries of God's retribution directed against the Romans.

In contrast, Michael Kritoboulos' (d. ca. 1470) eulogizing historical narrative of Mehmed II's rule relied on the legitimizing concept of *translatio imperii*.[23] He preserved the central importance of the idea of Roman imperium for Byzantine identity, albeit implicitly implying that the Ottomans were the successors to the eastern Romans. Kritoboulos, "the most learned of the Imbriotes" according to Cyriac of Ancona who visited the island[24], negotiated Imbros' surrender to the Ottomans in 1456 and was appointed Ottoman governor until the Venetian takeover in 1466. Kritoboulos' *History* only survives in the autograph copy presented to Mehmed II which was accompanied by a dedicatory letter wherein he addressed the Sultan with the following formula:

> Αὐτοκράτορι μεγίστῳ, βασιλεῖ βασιλέων Μεχεμέτει, εὐτυχεῖ, νικητῇ, τροπαιούχῳ, θριαμβευτῇ, ἀηττήτῳ, κυρίῳ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης θεοῦ θελήματι, Κριτόβουλος δοῦλος εὐτελής.
>
> To the Greatest Autocrat, to the King of Kings, to Mehmed, the fortunate, the victor, the winner of trophies, the triumphant, the invincible, the Lord of the land and the sea by God's will, from Kritoboulos the humble servant.[25]

Kritoboulos understood the transition from Roman to Ottoman rule in the context of the transfer of power that had also previously taken place

> ... νῦν μὲν ἐς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας, νῦν δὲ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ Ῥωμαίους κατὰ καιρούς τε καὶ περιόδους ἐνιαυτῶν ἐπιχωριάσαντά τε καὶ οὐδέποτε ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βεβηκότα.
>
> ... at one time to the Assyrians and to the Medes and to the Persians, at another time to the Hellenes and to the Romans.[26]

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22 Doukas (as footnote 21 above) 59. Describing Orhan's marriage to John VI Kantakouzenos' daughter, Doukas remarks on the practice of intermarriage between Turks and others.
23 Kritoboulos: Critobuli Imbriotae historia, ed. D.R. Reinsch. *CFHB*, 22. Berlin 1983; C.T. Riggs (transl.), History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos. Princeton 1954; D.R. Reinsch, Kritobulos of Imbros – learned historian, Ottoman *raya* and Byzantine patriot. *Recueil des Travaux de l'Institute d'Etudes Byzantines* 40 (2003) 297 – 311.
24 Cyriac of Ancona, Later travels (as footnote 17 above) 96 – 97.
25 Kritoboulos (as footnote 23 above) 3. Modified translation of Riggs (transl.), History of Mehmed (as footnote 23 above) 3.
26 Ibid. 14.

The Romans lost their rule because power had never stayed in one place and had never been exercised by a single people throughout time, but had passed from one people to another and from one place to another, Kritoboulos tells us. Still functioning within a thoroughly Byzantine ideological framework even though he had switched his allegiance from the Byzantine ruling elite to the Ottomans, Kritoboulos thus replicated the traditional rhetoric of the Fourth Kingdom which had been repeatedly used by previous Byzantine historians to locate their Empire within an imperial Christian historical narrative.[27]

Departing from Byzantine historiographical tradition in its adoption of Hellenic identity, from Doukas in its relativistic approach to Christianity, and also from Kritoboulos in its tenacious application of Roman identity to the west, Laonikos' historical work is hard to pin down. As such Laonikos' original formulations raise important questions about his intended audience and the historical context wherein *Ἀπόδειξις* was concluded, which are crucial to understand his brand of Hellenism.

It has been often argued that Laonikos put the finishing touches on the *Ἀπόδειξις* while he was still living under Ottoman rule.[28] It is true that commentators on Laonikos, myself included, have noted the inclusion of extensive portions of Ottoman Turkish lore in the *Ἀπόδειξις*, which had already begun to be put on paper at this time[29], and have pointed out Laonikos' correspondence with Ottoman Turkish historiographical narratives, concluding that Laonikos must have had access to such material when he was living under the Ottomans

27 R. Macrides / P. Magdalino, The Fourth Kingdom and the rhetoric of Hellenism, in idem (ed.), The perception of the past in twelfth-century Europe. London 1992, 117 – 156.

28 D.G. Kampouroglou, Οι Χαλκοκονδύλαι. Athens 1926 (repr. Athens 1996), 131 – 132; Ş. Baştav, Laonikos Halkondilas. *Türk Kültürü Araştırmalan* 23.1 – 2 (1985) 127 – 134; F. Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Hayatı (as footnote 11 above) 41 – 57; Kaldellis, A new Herodotos (as footnote 1 above).

29 The earliest extant Ottoman Turkish historical narrative is by Ahmedî, an Islamic Alexander Romance in verse which was composed circa 1410 and includes a section on the Ottomans. Yazıcızade's monumental translation project, undertaken at the behest of Murad II (1421 – 1451), made Ibn Bibi's and Aksarayi's Persian histories of the Rum Seljuqs available in Turkish. As part of the same project, Yazıcızade also translated portions on the Oghuz from the Ilkhanid Reşîdüddîn's history. Yazıcızade inserted numerous references to Murad II and to the Ottomans throughout the text, constructing a Turkic Oghuz identity which connects the Ottomans with the Great and Rum Seljuqs in the process. Laonikos' historical narrative reflects these Ottoman self-representations of the fifteenth-century. Ahmedî, İskender-Name, ed. İ. Ünver. Ankara 1983; Ali Yazıcızade, Selçuḳ-Name: İndeksli Tıpkıbasım, ed. A. Bakır. Ankara 2014.

sometime after the fall of Constantinople to Mehmed II.[30] Furthermore, Laonikos' sympathetic and accurate presentation of Islam is part of a wider religious discourse, in which he studies the two monotheistic faiths of Christianity and Islam as cultural and administrative systems and does not ascribe metaphysical importance to them.

However, in spite of Laonikos' comparative and relativistic religious framework, the civilized people are invariably Christians and the barbarians are always Muslims in the *Ἀπόδειξις*, with the exception of the Armenians who interestingly belong among the barbarians.[31] Laonikos included a list of the ongoing fifteenth-century religious wars between the Christians and the "barbarians" in various places in the world:

> Ἔστι δὲ τούτοις ἱερόν, ᾗ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἱερὸν νομίζεται καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐνοικοῦν Ναζηραίων γένος. ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ τὰ τρία ἱερὰ ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ᾠκημένα δὴ καταφανῆ ἐστι, τό τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ταύτῃ τῶν Λιβύων διαβάντας, καὶ Προυσίων πρός τε τοὺς Σαμώτας καὶ Σκυθῶν τοὺς νομάδας, αὐτοῦ_ταύτῃ ἀγχοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ᾠκισμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τάφον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους.
>
> They (the Prussians) have a religious order, similar to the religious order in Iberia and to the caste of Nazirites inhabiting Rhodes which are held in great esteem. It is evident that these three religious orders, situated all across the world, (defend) the religion of Jesus against the barbarians: the one in Iberia against the Libyans in this place, who crossed over, and the one of the Prussians against the Samogets and the nomads of Skythians, who settled near this place there in the past, and that of the Rhodians against the ones in Egypt and Palestine on account of Jesus' grave there and also against the barbarians in Asia.[32]

Comparison with Kritoboulos, who was indeed writing under Ottoman rule and for Mehmed II, is particularly pertinent as the latter historian in no instance refers to the Ottomans or to any Islamic peoples as barbarians. Importantly, Laonikos portrayed Mehmed II as a barbarian tyrant par excellence, similar to Her-

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30 A. Nimet, Die türkische Prosopographie bei Laonikos Chalkokandlyes. PhD diss. Hamburg 1933; Kirlidökme Mollaoğlu, Laonikos Chalkokondyles'in Kroniği (as footnote 5 above); Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above).
31 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 58 – 59. According to Laonikos, "Iskender, the King of the Armenians" was the bravest among the barbarians in Asia Minor. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 102 – 13.
32 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 123 – 124; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 214 – 217. In his usual fashion, Laonikos referred to contemporary peoples with classical names, creating continuity between the barbarians of antiquity and the fifteenth-century antagonists.

odotus' Xerxes with all its negative connotations.[33] In a striking story, the historian told how Mehmed II lusted after the younger brother of Vlad Dracula (1448; 1456 – 1462; 1476) and made the boy his lover. Laonikos wrote:

> Καὶ παιδικὰ ἐγένετο βασιλέως. χρῆσθαι δὲ νομίζει οὐχ ἧττον τοῖς ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δίαιταν τετραμμένοις.
>
> The boy became the favorite of the king. (Mehmed II) considers it not evil to have relations with those turned to his way of life.[34]

Laonikos also narrated that Mehmed II had the *megas doux* Loukas Notaras, his twelve-year old son, and all the freed Hellenes in Byzantium killed shortly after the conquest because of the counsel of a certain Hellene with whose daughter the Sultan was sleeping.[35] Elsewhere, Laonikos described the Ottoman armies as

> … ὡς δὲ λύκοι ἐπὶ πρόβατα νομέων ἔρημα ἐσβαλόντες αὐταρκῶς οὐδέποτε κορέννυνται τοῦ φόνου.
>
> … like wolves falling upon sheep bereft of a shepherd, they are never sufficiently satiated with bloodshed.[36]

Comparison with Kritoboulos reveals that Laonikos' scathing descriptions of Mehmed II had neither Mehmed II nor members of the Ottoman court as their intended audiences. While Kritoboulos' presentation of the Ottoman army and the sack of Constantinople in 1453 is also negative, the historian applauds the Ottoman Sultan for his magnificent deeds, bravery, and learning.

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33 Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above) 227 – 229. Kaldellis similarly argued and at greater length that Laonikos presented Mehmed II as a classical tyrant: Kaldellis, A new Herodotos (as footnote 1 above) 92 – 97. Although fifteenth-century Byzantine authors had invoked Xerxes in encomiastic works to the Byzantine ruling elite and Kritoboulos compared Mehmed II with the Persian King in his History, the emphasis was more generally on monumental building and siege projects similar to that of Xerxes. M. Philippides, The Fall of Constantinople 1453: Classical comparisons and the circle of Cardinal Isidore. *Viator* 38 (2007) 349 – 383. However, Manuel II Palaiologos (1391 – 1425) in his various literary compositions had also drawn parallels between the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I and Xerxes. I extend thanks to Siren Çelik for this information and allowing access to the fifth chapter of her PhD dissertation: S. Çelik, A historical biography of Manuel II Palaiologos (1350 – 1425), PhD diss. Birmingham 2016.
34 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 250; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 366 – 369.
35 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol.2, 165 – 166. Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 204 – 207.
36 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 234; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 334 – 335.

Kaldellis has recently argued that Laonikos finished his historical work in the Ottoman capital, by referring to the manuscript transmission of the *Ἀπόδειξις*, and particularly to the fifteenth-century *Parisinus gr.* 1780.[37] According to Mondrain, this manuscript was scribed by a Demetrios Angelos who lived in Byzantine and Ottoman Constantinople where he was affiliated with George Amiroutzes and Michael Kritoboulos' circle. George Amiroutzes (c. 1400 – c. 1469), who was the *protovestiarios* of the empire of Trebizond, had negotiated the city's surrender in 1461 to his cousin Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), the grand vizier of Mehmed II.[38] Deported to Edirne and with his son taken captive by Mehmed II, Amiroutzes wrote to his compatriot Bessarion (d. 1472) to ask for the Trapezuntine Cardinal's help for the release of his son soon after 1461. Even at this early date, Amiroutzes referred to Mehmed II as the "greatly powerful one and ruler of the most numerous and greatest nations, now the Emperor of the Hellenes and Romans" (Ὁ γὰρ τοίνυν μέγα δυνάμενος καὶ πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἐθνῶν ἄρχων, Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἤδη βασιλεύς) and was not openly critical of the Sultan, when he described the fall of their native city to the Ottomans in his letter to Bessarion.[39] Kritoboulos provided details of Amiroutzes' later life at Mehmed II's court when the Sultan greatly honored him and often conversed with him about philosophical problems "for the Emperor is among the most consummate philosophers"(ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ἄκρως φιλοσόφων ὁ βασιλεύς).[40] In fact, Laonikos had drawn attention to the increasing power of those of non-Turkish ethnic backgrounds at Mehmed II's court, when describing Mehmed II's sexual interest in men:

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37 Kaldellis, A new Herodotos (as footnote 1 above) 21 – 22. H. Wurm / E. Gamillscheg, Bemerkungen zu Laonikos Chalkokondyles. *JÖB* 42 (1992) 213 – 219; B. Mondrain, Jean Argyropoulos professeur à Constantinople et ses auditeurs médecins, d'Andronic Éparque à Démétrios Angelos, in C. Scholz / G. Makris (eds.), ΠΟΛΥΠΛΕΥΡΟΣ ΝΟΥΣ: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag. *BA*, 19. Munich 2000, 223 – 250; B. Mondrain, Démétrios Angelos et la médecine: contribution nouvelle au dossier, in V. Boudon-Millot / A. Garzya / J. Jouanna / A. Roselli (eds.), Storia della tradizione e edizione dei medici greci. Napoli 2010, 293 – 322. However, Tamás Mészáros, who is in the process of collating manuscripts of the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* which Darkó did not use in his critical edition, informs me that Demetrios Angelos was not the scribe of the *Parisinus gr.* 1780.

38 T. Stavrides, The sultan of vezirs: the life and times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelovic (1453 – 1474). Leiden 2001, 86 – 90; K. Moustakas, Byzantine 'visions' of the Ottoman empire: theories of Ottoman legitimacy by Byzantine scholars after the fall of Constantinople, in A. Lymberopoulou (ed.), Images of the Byzantine world: studies presented to Leslie Brubaker. Surrey/Burlington VT 2011, 215 – 229.

39 George Amiroutzes, Letter to Bessarion, in J. F. Boissonade (ed.), Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regiis V. Paris 1833, 390.

40 Kritoboulos (as footnote 23 above) 165 – 166.

> Τούτοις μὲν γὰρ αἰεί τε συγγενόμενος συνδιατρίβει νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, τοῖς δ' ἀλλοφύλοις οὐ πάνυ τι χρῆσθαι νομίζεται βασιλέα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βραχύ.
>
> Always keeping company with these people, he lives constantly with them at night and during the day. Although it is customary for the king to not at all associate with men who are not of his own race, except for brief periods of time.[41]

The political, legal, administrative, and military centralization of the Ottoman state under Mehmed II was largely predicated on the ideology of overarching Sultanic authority with an increasing reliance on the hierarchical *kul* system, where power was invested in converts who had gone through rigorous training and had absolute allegiance to the Ottoman dynasty.[42] Significantly, Mehmed II's two *Kanunnâmes,* representing a first instance in Islamic history of codification of dynastic law independent of the *sharia*, established the sovereign as the owner of all land and *reaya* in the Ottoman sphere.[43] If the *Ἀπόδειξις* was in fact copied by Demetrios Angelos in the Ottoman capital and in the circle of Kritoboulos and George Amiroutzes, both of whom were members of Mehmed II's court, it is inconceivable that the Sultan would not have been notified of the contents of Laonikos' work, given his far-reaching power over subjects and over courtiers more specifically. There remain three alternative explanations for this perplexing situation: 1) Angelos was not the scribe of *Parisinus gr.* 1780. 2) Laonikos was not present in Konstantiniyye when a copy of his manuscript was made in the capital. 3) Mehmed II allowed it to be copied and circulated. If the second is true, *Parisinus gr.* 1780 need not be the most important exemplar, although it is thought to be the earliest extant manuscript. The last theory, however, has

41 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 250; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 368 – 369. Laonikos, commenting on the increasing power of converts and *kuls* at Mehmed II's court, in contrast to previous periods, appears well-informed about Mehmed II's political decisions and the estrangement of the old Ottoman military and ruling elite. Indeed, Mehmed II removed and executed Çandarlı Halil, coming from an old Anatolian family of viziers, immediately after 1453 and raised converts and *kuls* to the highest positions at court. In 1456, Mahmud Pasha, of *kul* status, became grand vizier. One finds a critique of this changing political climate in the historical narrative of Aşıkpaşazade, himself belonging to an illustrious *dervish* family with connections to the *gazis* and writing under Bayezid II (1481 – 1512). H. İnalcik, The policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city. *DOP* 23/24 (1969/1970) 229 – 249; C. Kafadar, Between two worlds: the construction of the Ottoman state. Berkeley 1996.

42 For a concise overview of the system of *kul* in the Ottoman Empire, see C. Kafadar, The Ottomans and Europe, in T. A. Brady / H. A. Oberman / J. D. Tracy (eds.), Handbook of European History, 1400 – 1600. Leiden 1994, I 603 – 606. For a thorough exposition on the development of the *kul* system under Mehmed II, see Stavrides, The sultan of vezirs (as footnote 38 above).

43 H. İnalcik, The Ottoman empire: the classical age 1300 – 1600. London 1994.

some interesting consequences. It suggests that Mehmed II knowingly allowed the *Ἀπόδειξις* to be disseminated in the west. Laonikos' portrayal would thus contribute to Mehmed II's fearsome image and reputation in the west which would serve the Sultan well as he planned to invade Italy.[44] In all cases, however, it is clear that Laonikos was writing for a western audience in mind, specifically those schooled in classical Greek.

Laonikos' particular Hellenism also presents problems in terms of proper contextualization. Should we understand Laonikos as a loyal disciple of Pletho? Should we understand him as a historian working under the formative influence of *Tourkokratia?* Or writing for a western Renaissance audience? Laonikos articulated a Hellenic identity that has strong parallels with that of Pletho. In his advisory letters to Despot Theodore II (ca. 1395–1448) and to Emperor Manuel II (1391–1425) which predate Laonikos' historical work by at least four decades, Pletho carefully avoided any references to Roman identity and imperium, except elliptically mentioning that the Byzantine rulers were the inheritors of the once great Roman empire and thus preserved a modicum of that important political self-definition.[45] In fact, Pletho's iconic statement in his 1418 address to Emperor Manuel II, "We, whom you lead and rule over, are Hellenes by descent, as the language and the hereditary education bear witness (Ἐσμὲν γὰρ οὖν ὧν ἡγεῖσθέ τε καὶ βασιλεύετε Ἕλληνες τὸ γένος, ὡς ἥ τε φωνὴ καὶ ἡ πάτριος παιδεία μαρτυρεῖ)[46], was part of an ongoing conversation on identity that was anchored in the politically fragmented world of the eastern Mediterranean. As the territorial extent of the Byzantine state was for the larger part confined to a geography that was demographically Greek-speaking and the Byzantine state was only one po-

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44 F. Babinger, Mehmed the Conqueror and his time, W. Hickman (transl.), Princeton 1978. Babinger's monograph still remains the most comprehensive work on Mehmed II although it should be used with caution. H. İnalcik, Mehmed the Conqueror (1432–1481) and his time. *Speculum* 35 (1960) 408–427.

45 In his address to Despot Theodore, Pletho summarized what remained of the once great Roman empire in the fifteenth century, implying that the fifteenth-century Byzantine state was the direct inheritor of the classical one: George Gemistos Pletho, Address to Theodore, in: Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά ed. S.P. Lampros, Athens 1926, IV 129: ὁρῶμεν γὰρ οἷ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας κεχώρηκε τὰ πράγματα, οἷς ἁπάντων οἰχομένων δύο πόλεε μόνον ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης περιλέλειπται καὶ Πελοπόννησος, οὐδὲ ξύμπασα αὕτη γε, καὶ εἰ δή τι ἔτι νησίδιον σῶν ἐστι. For an introduction to Pletho's political philosophy, see D. Zakythinos, Le Despotat Grec de Morée, II, Paris 1932, 365–376; R. Webb, The Nomoi of Gemistos Plethon in the light of Plato's Laws. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 52 (1989) 219–249; G. Baloglou, The institutions of ancient Sparta in the works of Pletho. *Antike und Abendland* 51 (2005) 137–149.

46 George Gemistos Pletho, Advisory letter to Manuel II on the affairs of the Peloponnesus, in Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά (as footnote 45 above) III 247.

litical unit among many others in the east, Pletho's formulation reveals that he evaluated the contemporary situation and found that the traditional Roman appellation with its claim to universality was not sufficiently reflective of fifteenth-century realities. However, Pletho's emphasis on τὸ γένος is often considered in the Greek proto-nationalist context and praised for anticipating the rise of the nationalist discourse of the 18th and 19th centuries and the eventual formation of the Greek nation-state.[47] In my opinion, Pletho's emphasis on Hellenic identity was an educated response, comparable to similar historicizing formulations focusing on Latin identity in Renaissance Italy.

While Pletho avoided the thorny question of Roman identity in his two addresses, Laonikos, in contrast, was explicit that historically and culturally the people inhabiting the land were Hellenes and not Romans and drew attention to the dissonance of the onomastic practice of the rulers, who called themselves "Emperors of Romans":

> Γλῶτταν μὲν καὶ ἤθη διὰ τὸ πολλῷ πλέονας Ῥωμαίων Ἕλληνας αὐτοῦ ἐπικρατεῖν διὰ τέλους φυλάξαι, τοὔνομα μέντοι μηκέτι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον καλουμένους ἀλλάξασθαι, καὶ τούς γε βασιλεῖς Βυζαντίου ἐπὶ τὸ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορας σεμνύνεσθαι ἀποκαλεῖν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ βασιλεῖς οὐκέτι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιοῦν.
>
> [They] guarded their (Hellenic) language and customs until the very end because they (Hellenes) were much more numerous than the Romans. However, they (Hellenes) no longer called themselves according to their (Hellenic) hereditary tradition and the name was changed. And, thus, the Emperors of Byzantion were proud to call themselves Emperors and Autocrats of Romans and never found it appropriate to be called Emperors of Hellenes"[48]

This passage along with the famous section on the future establishment of a Hellenic state[49] have been repeatedly quoted in the secondary literature and Laoni-

47 C. M. Woodhouse, George Gemistos Plethon (as footnote 8 above); A. Vacalopoulos, Origins of the Greek nation: the Byzantine period, 1204 – 1461. New Jersey 1970. For the varied uses of the Byzantine past in literary and historical representations of Greekness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see D. Ricks / P. Magdalino (eds.), Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity. Ashgate 1998.

48 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol.1, 4; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 6 – 7.

49 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol.1, 2: καὶ κλέος μὲν αὐτῇ μέγα τὸ παραυτίκα, μεῖζον δὲ καὶ ἐς αὖθις, ὁπότε δὴ ἀνὰ βασιλείαν οὐ φαύλην Ἕλλην τε αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐσόμενοι βασιλεῖς, οἷ δὴ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παῖδες ξυλλεγόμενοι κατὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔθιμα ὡς ἥδιστα μὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ὡς κράτιστα πολιτεύοιντο (And the present fame of the Hellenic language will be greater in the future, when an Emperor will rule over a sizeable Hellene Empire and he will have imperial descendants. The children of the Hellenes

kos has been hailed as harbinger of modern Greek identity and as a Greek ideologue who belonged in the eastern Mediterranean.[50] However, this analysis configures Laonikos to be the only post-1453 representative of a position that looks forwards to the eventual establishment of the Greek state. It is, in fact, more fruitful to research the influence of classical Greek thought on Laonikos' historical work and to evaluate Laonikos' *Ἀπόδειξις* in the intellectual context of elite Byzantine émigrés in the west. Laonikos' wholesale, systematic, and archaizing adoption of Hellenic identity is similar to that of those émigrés, among them Cardinal Bessarion, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, John Argyropoulos, Janus Lascaris, and others, who negotiated their identities within the larger western urban settings of the Renaissance and no longer called themselves Ῥωμαῖοι after 1453, but articulated a Hellenism that was in profound and deep conversation with the classical and late antique Greek past.[51] In contrast, Patriarch Gennadios II Scholarios (d. ca. 1472), Kritoboulos, and Amiroutzes living under Mehmed II's rule continued to represent themselves as Ῥωμαῖοι. Laonikos, on the other hand, was explicit that the Roman imperial office and Roman institutions more generally belonged in the west both historically and in the fifteenth century:

> Τοὺς μέντοι Ῥωμαίους ἐπυθόμεθα καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχιερέα τὸν μέγιστον οὐκ ὀλίγα ἄττα κατὰ τὴν θρησκείαν ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν διενεχθέντας διακεκρίσθαι τά τε ἄλλα ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων, καὶ

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will be attached to these emperors according to their own customs and will be ruled in a manner pleasing to them. And they will rule over others forcefully); KALDELLIS (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, 4 – 5. A full evaluation of this passage and its historical context is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it should be noted that Pletho's firm belief in oracular wisdom, elaborated and theorized in preserved sections of the controversial *Νόμοι,* was shared by Laonikos. In recounting the prophecies of Leo the Wise and Joachim, the historian was explicit concerning their veracity. I believe this passage too belongs within that tradition. AKIŞIK, Self and other (as footnote 5 above) 92 – 103.

50 Most recently argued by KALDELLIS, A new Herodotos (as footnote 1 above) 190. "Laonikos is not looking forward to a revived "Byzantine" (i.e., Roman) empire or a western colonial protectorate to be established after a Crusade (the wish of many in the west), but to a national Greek state."

51 N.G. WILSON, From Byzantium to Italy: Greek studies in the Italian Renaissance. London 1992; D.J. GEANAKOPLOS, Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe. New York 1962; J. MONFASANI, Byzantine scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and other émigrés: selected essays. Hampshire 1995; IDEM, Greeks and Latins in Renaissance Italy: studies on humanism and philosophy in the 15th century. Aldershot 2004; H. LAMERS, Greece reinvented: transformations of Byzantine Hellenism in Renaissance Italy. Leiden 2015. Importantly, I exclude George of Trebizond from this list: J. MONFASANI, George of Trebizond: a biography and a study of his rhetoric and logic. Leiden 1976.

δὴ καὶ βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιψηφιζομένους, ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν, ὁτὲ δὲ ἀπὸ Γερμανῶν, ἐς τόνδε ἀεὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀποδεικνύναι.

We have learned that for many years, the Romans and their great Archbishop being at a variance concerning many issues relating to religious practice, were separated from the Hellenes for other things. And they elected the Emperor of the Romans first from among the Galatians and later from among the Germans, which they have appointed continuously until the present time.[52]

Further, Laonikos revisited the theme of Roman Emperors throughout the narrative and was consistent in his representation.[53] Although Laonikos' radical Hellenism is sui generis among those intellectuals who chose to remain under Ottoman rule in their homelands, when one evaluates Laonikos among western Byzantine émigrés, he no longer appears to be the sole remaining intellectual who adopted a Hellenizing position and discarded with Roman identity in the aftermath of 1453.

How can one make sense of Laonikos' multi-layered narrative which admittedly contains shifts in perspective? In my opinion, Laonikos lived under Mehmed II and Ottoman rule for sometime but it is not certain where he put the finishing touches to his historical work, which contains information gathered from disparate sources over an extended period of time. It is certain, however, that he was writing for a western audience with access to classical Greek. In fact, close reading of the *Ἀπόδειξις* reveals Laonikos' pro-Unionist and pro-Venetian perspective, which informs and unifies the narrative from the Proem through the end of Book 10. Laonikos provided glowing praise of the Byzantine émigré Cardinals Isidore and Bessarion, both of whom were Pletho's students. Isidore was titular Latin Patriarch of Constantinople from 1458–1462 and was succeeded

52 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol.1, 4–5; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories, vol. 1, 6–7.

53 Laonikos' exposition of Roman identity was systematic and fully reflected the various ways in which it was employed in the west in the fifteenth century, as legitimizing rhetoric for the elevation of Holy Roman Emperors, as the ideological basis for the temporal authority of the Papacy, as the historicizing element of various Italian and German civic identities, as the self-representation of fifteenth-century French kings who claimed descent from Charlemagne: Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above) 246–310. Laonikos' interpretation was well-received in the seventeenth century when the historian was translated to and printed in French. Laonikos' later reception in Europe further illustrates the ways in which his formulation continued to resonate with western audiences. J.-M. Spieser, Du Cange and Byzantium, in R. Cormack / E. Jeffreys (eds.), Through the looking glass. Byzantium through British eyes. Aldershot 2000, 199–210.

by Bessarion who held the office from 1463 – 1472. In that capacity, the two Cardinals held under their jurisdiction all Venetian and western controlled territories in the eastern Mediterranean, including Crete. Laonikos wrote:

> Περὶ μὲν οὖν Βησσαρίωνος τοσόνδε ἐπιστάμενος μνήμην ποιήσομαι, ὡς ξυνέσει τε τῇ ἀπὸ φύσεως πολλῶν δὴ τῶν ἐς τοῦτο εὐδοκιμούντων Ἑλλήνων μακρῷ <πρῶτος> γενόμενος, καὶ κρίνειν τε ἐφ' ὅ τι ἂν γένοιτο κράτιστος δοκῶν γενέσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς σοφίαν τὴν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐδενὸς δεύτερος.
>
> Knowing so much concerning Bessarion, I will record it, as he was by far the first in intelligence, the sort that comes from nature, among the many Hellenes at that time who were highly esteemed for this quality, and he was considered to be the best in judging why something might happen, he was second to none with respect to things concerning the wisdom of the Hellenes and the Romans.[54]

In contrast, Laonikos' evaluation of the anti-Unionists Mark Eugenikos, also a student of Pletho, and George Gennadios Scholarios, archenemy of Pletho, was dismissive. The historian did not in any way indicate the strength of the anti-Unionist party in Constantinople before and after the conquest. Nor did Laonikos mention that Mehmed II appointed Scholarios as Patriarch of Constantinople, a convenient omission considering that Scholarios' appointment challenged the patriarchal authority of Isidore.[55] Importantly, Laonikos provided an extensive account of the Republic of Venice, presenting it as the most durable, virtuous, and just state among all the myriad political entities that he had reviewed, devoting the greater part of Book Four to Venice alone.[56] In the final book, Laonikos included a lengthy and impassioned speech by Victor Capella to the Venetian Senate, wherein Capella urged war against Mehmed II, argued that the Venetians shared the same habits of life with Hellenes and with others that had been defeated by the Ottomans, and that the Venetians should exonerate themselves from their previous blame of inaction against the Ottomans by organizing a concerted European effort against Mehmed II.[57] Concluding the *Ἀπόδειξις* with the

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54 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol.2, 68; Kaldellis (transl.), The Histories (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 20 – 21.

55 Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above) 255 – 310.

56 Laonikos preserved "the myth of Venice" in evaluating the republic. His account of the Fourth Crusade, justification for Venetian involvement, and inattention to Venetian financial interests during that crusade, are similar in tenor to other fifteenth-century western accounts, such as that of Flavio Biondo: Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above) 238 – 246, G. Dagron, Le "Mythe de Venise" vu de Byzance, in P. Schreiner (ed.), Il mito di Venezia. Rome/Venice 2006, 61 – 80, B. J. Maxson, Claiming Byzantium: Biondo Flavio, diplomacy, and the Fourth Crusade. *Studi Veneziani* 68 (2013) 31 – 59.

57 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 2, 290 – 294.

events of the Ottoman-Venetian war of 1464, Laonikos left the outcome hanging in the balance.

Laonikos' Herodotean Model in the Italian Renaissance

Laonikos' historiographical model similarly hints that the historian's intended audience were those elite western intellectual circles, having knowledge of classical Greek and receptive towards new trends, as they would be able to decode Laonikos' Herodotean program and to appreciate the application of an ancient and forgotten model to understand contemporary reality and the imminent Ottoman threat.

Although Herodotus was frequently copied and studied in the Byzantine classroom, Byzantine authors mined the ancient historian mainly for ethnographic information (such as that which Herodotus provided concerning the Skythians), used it for stylistic purposes, but did not adopt Herodotus as a historiographical model.[58] Herodotus' Hellenistic and late antique reputation for concocting fabulous stories continued to haunt him and he was notorious for being unreliable as a historian in the medieval period as well.[59] While Thucydides was praised for his "accuracy of facts" in the Suda, the tenth-century encyclopedia, Herodotus' interest in the exotic is the main focus for the entry under his name. The Suda entry includes a quote from Julian and his comment "if the wordsmith of Thurii can be believed", making clear that Herodotus' veracity was a topic of debate. Similarly, Photius remarked that Herodotus made extensive use of myths and diversions and pointed out that "Truth does not wish her accuracy to be overshadowed with myths".[60]

Importantly, Herodotus' understanding of identity, "the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in

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58 C. Rapp, Hellenic identity, *romanitas*, and Christianity in Byzantium, in K. Zacharia (ed.), Hellenisms: culture, identity, and ethnicity from antiquity to modernity. Aldershot 2008, 127 – 147.

59 A. Momigliano, The place of Herodotus in the history of historiography in idem, Studies in historiography. London 1966, 127 – 142.

60 Photius Bibliotheca, ed. R. Henry. Paris 1959 – 1970. Entry 60: Κέχρηται δὲ μυθολογίαις καὶ παρεκβάσεσι πολλαῖς, δι' ὧν αὐτῷ ἡ κατὰ διάνοιαν γλυκύτης διαρρεῖ, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας κατάληψιν καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῆς καὶ κατάλληλον τύπον ἐνίοτε ταῦτα ἐπισκοτεῖ, οὐκ ἐθελούσης τῆς ἀληθείας μύθοις αὐτῆς ἀμαυροῦσθαι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, οὐδὲ πλέον τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀποπλανᾶσθαι ταῖς παρεκβάσεσιν.

common, and the likeness of our way of life", (tr. Rawlinson, 8.144.2) did not inform Byzantine self-representations until the fifteenth century.[61] In fact, Herodotus' political vision of a league of Hellenic city-states united by these identity markers and in opposition to the tyrannical Empire of the Persians is in contrast to the rhetoric of legitimate universal Empire that we find in Byzantine formulations[62] but a rhetoric that was defunct in the aftermath of 1453. Herodotus' critique of tyranny and imperialism[63] was useful as a model for Laonikos in presenting sought after information on the Ottomans for a western audience who were much interested in developments in the east. Laonikos' Herodotean model was also relevant at a time when Mehmed II fashioned himself as an imperial ruler with universal aspirations[64].

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61 C. Rapp, Hellenic identity (as footnote 58 above)127 – 147.

62 E. Barker, Social and political thought in Byzantium. Oxford 1957; ed. P. Magdalino, New Constantines: the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantine history, 4th–13th centuries. Aldershot 1994; D. Angelov, Imperial ideology and political thought in Byzantium, 1204 – 1330. Cambridge 2007.

63 Herodotus' History has been interpreted as being strongly influenced by the Peloponnesian War, which, at the time of its writing, was being waged between Hellenic city-states rather than against an external enemy. According to this interpretation, Herodotus glorified the unification of the Hellenic city-states as a response to the Persian invasion, which had occurred in the previous generation, to criticize the state of affairs in his own day. Herodotus' critique of tyranny and imperialism in the context of the Persian invasions was connectedwith contemporary concerns regarding Athenian imperialism: S. Forsdyke, Athenian democratic ideology and Herodotus' 'Histories'. *The American Journal of Philology* 122 (2001) 329 – 358; J. L. Moles, Herodotus and Athens, in E. J. Bakker / I. F. De Jong / H. van Wees (eds.), Brill's Companion to Herodotus. Leiden 2002, 33 – 52; P. Stadter, Herodotus and the Athenian Arche. *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 22 (1992) 789 – 809.

64 Mehmed II had Italian artists commemorate his rule with bronze medals that emulated classical Roman coinage, a contemporary western artistic practice. Gentile Bellini, who also painted Mehmed II's portrait, was among the artists Mehmed II employed to design these medals. In one of Costanzo da Ferrara's designs, the obverse has Mehmed II's bust with the inscription *Suitanus Mohameth Othomanus Turcorum Imperator* (Sultan Mehmed, of the house of Osman, Emperor of the Turks), while on the reverse, three crowns appear. In another bronze medallion by Bertoldo di Giovanni, the obverse has Mehmed II's portrait with the inscription *Maumbet Asie ac Trapesunzis Magneque Gretie Imperat* (Mehmed, Emperor of Asia, Trebizond, and Greater Greece): G. Necipoğlu, Visual cosmopolitanism and creative translation: artistic conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople. *Muqarnas* 29 (2012) 1 – 81; J. Raby, Pride and prejudice: Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian portrait medal. *Studies in the History of Art* 21(1987) 171 – 194; J. Raby, Constanzo de Ferrara, in S. K. Scher / J. B. Taylor (eds.), The currency of fame: portrait medals of the Renaissance. London 1994; S. Spinale, Reassessing the so-called 'Tricaudet Medal' of Mehmed II. *The Medal* 42 (2003) 3 – 22; S. Spinale, The portrait medals of Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451 – 81). PhD diss. Harvard University 2003.

Laonikos' adoption of a specifically Herodotean Hellenic identity to refer to the Byzantines also invoked the theme of freedom, a major concern for Herodotus and a poignant reminder that Laonikos' compatriots were no longer the ruling component of an independent Byzantine state. Bessarion, also belonging to the Mistra Circle, made extensive use of the Herodotean model of tyrannical empire in binary opposition with the free Hellenic polity in his encomium on Trebizond.[65] Bessarion was born in Trebizond and moved to Constantinople and later to Mistra in early adulthood, where he was a student of Pletho. As I have already noted, Bessarion then became a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, and was twice considered for the office of pope. In the encomium, composed circa 1440, Bessarion used Herodotus to construct an Athenian and Ionian pedigree for Trebizond and configured his native city to be the last free representative of that special synthesis which was forged out of Hellenic linguistic/cultural elements and Roman political principles. Bessarion also considered this to be the case with respect to Byzantine identity more generally even after he had moved to Italy in 1440. In his 1443 letter to Despot Constantine, Bessarion provided suggestions to improve the Byzantine state, a major component of which would be the reform of "our laws, with which the *Hellenic and Roman race* is governed,"[66] a formulation that he would abandon after the fall of Constantinople. In the final analysis, Bessarion's conceptualization of Trebizond resonates more with the Herodotean model of the Hellenic city-state, especially considering the way in which Bessarion depicted the city in unceasing and continuous opposition to various barbarians since its inception as a Hellenic colony, rather than with the imperial Roman paradigm, particularly because Bessarion writes that Trebizond was incorporated into the classical pre-medieval

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65 Ed. O. Lampsides, Εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα λόγος τοῦ Βησσαρίωνος. *Archeion Pontou* 39 (1984) 3–75. Lampsides' edition of the autograph manuscript contains a critical apparatus which demonstrates Bessarion's extensive reuse of Herodotus. A. Akışık, Praising a city: Nicaea, Trebizond, and Thessalonike, in N. Neçipoğlu/C. Kafadar (eds.), In memoriam Angeliki Laiou. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011) 1–25. Lamers, Greece reinvented (as footnote 51 above) 92–132.

66 Bessarion, Letter 13 to Constantine Palaiologos, in L. Mohler, Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann: Funde und Forschungen. Paderborn 1923, 444: Τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβαλομένων κἀκείνους μεταβάλλεσθαι πάντως ἀνάγκη. καίτοι οἵ γε ἡμέτεροι νόμοι, καὶ *οἷς τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν ἅμα καὶ ἑλληνικὸν κέχρηται γένος*, οὐδὲν ὅ, τι τῶν μετακινεῖσθαι δεόντων ἔχουσιν – When affairs change, it is especially necessary to change those (laws). And yet our laws, *with which the Roman and Hellenic race is governed*, they currently have none of the required changes. Emphasis added. D. Zakythinos, Le Despotat Grec de Morée I. Paris 1953, 226–228; A.G. Keller, A Byzantine admirer of 'western' progress: Cardinal Bessarion. *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1955) 343–348.

Roman state during its eastern expansion without Trebizond being the center of political authority.

Laonikos' adoption of Herodotus was even more comprehensive than that of Bessarion, as he used the organizational principles of the ancient historian.[67] Laonikos divided the *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* into ten Books, roughly according to the reigns of the Ottoman rulers. He provided ethnographic and political information on numerous peoples that were connected in some way with Ottoman campaigns and the decline of the Hellenes. This was similar to Herodotus, who had integrated the wide-ranging information by a narrative structure focused on the military campaigns of the Persians against other peoples, and had divided the Books according to the dynastic succession of the Persian Kings. Further, Laonikos' inherently Herodotean approach to source material is evident in his incorporation and translation of considerable oral material from different sources, including Ottoman, Venetian, French, Ferrarese, English, and many others.

Thus, I have already hinted that the rehabilitation of Herodotus as a reliable historian started with Pletho, Bessarion, and Laonikos, but just as importantly Herodotus' revival in the fifteenth-century Italian context, particularly the print edition by Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), was also connected to the Mistra Circle. The manuscript tradition of Herodotus in the fifteenth century, and the afterlife of the fourteenth-century manuscript wherein we find Laonikos' epigraph, illuminates the intellectual network which revived the ancient historian. The fourteenth-century Herodotus manuscript (*Plut. gr.* 70.06), scribed by one Nikolaos Triklines, was later owned by Pletho, who inserted a bifolio in his own hand, indicating that the philosopher had studied the text closely.[68] Pletho probably worked on this Herodotus manuscript together with Bessarion, as the latter copied the manuscript on May 30, 1436 possibly in Mistra. Interestingly, Bessarion used cryptography to conceal the date.[69] The Cardinal bequeathed this manuscript (*Marc. gr.* 365) to the Republic of Venice as part of his extensive donation of manuscripts which later formed the nucleus for the Marciana Library. *Plut. gr.* 70.06 provided the archetype for Plousiadenos, who made a copy of Herodotus

67 Akışık, Self and other (as footnote 5 above); Kaldellis, A new Herodotos (as footnote 1 above).

68 D. Bianconi, La Biblioteca di Cora tra Massimo Planude e Niceforo Gregora. Una questione di mani. *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) 403.

69 D. F. Jackson, The TLDV manuscripts of Xenophon's Hellenica and their descendants. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 105 (1975) 175–187: 181.

in 1469 for Bessarion (*Marc. gr.* 364).[70] Finally, Demetrios Raoul Kabakes, the loyal disciple of Pletho, also made a copy of *Plut. gr.* 70.06 in Rome in 1480 (*Vat. gr.* 1359).[71]

The translation and print edition of the entire nine books of Herodotus into Latin by Lorenzo Valla reintroduced the ancient historian to the west after a very long hiatus.[72] Nicholas V (1447–1455) commissioned the translation project and Herodotus along with Polybius, Thucydides, Strabo, and Appian became accessible in Latin in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The translation was in circulation in 1457, after both Nicholas V and Valla died and before Valla had a chance to revise the translation and supply his own preface. Valla not only belonged to the intellectual circle of Bessarion along with Laonikos' cousin Demetrios Chalkokondyles, but he had also hoped to avail himself of Bessarion's help with the translation before the Cardinal went to Bologna.[73] Significantly, Alberti has argued that Valla had used *Plut. gr.* 70.06, the manuscript closely associated with Pletho's Mistra Circle, as one of his three master copies for the translation.[74] By the end of the fifteenth century, the Latin translation of Herodotus had already been printed three times (Venice (1474), Rome (1475), Venice (1494)) in addition to its numerous manuscript copies, bearing testimony to its wide appeal in the west.[75]

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70 I extend thanks to Anthony Ellis, whose ongoing study of Plut. 70.06 has confirmed that Plousiadenos' manuscript was a direct apograph of the fourteenth-century Laurentian manuscript.

71 Kabakes, also belonging to the Mistra Circle, greatly contributed to the dissemination of Pletho's thought in the west by copying the philosopher's works and in particular Pletho's *Νόμοι*, which was partially destroyed by Pletho's archenemy, the Patriarch George Gennadios Scholarios on account of its paganism. D. Zakythinos, Le Despotat Grec de Morée. vol. 2, 375–376. A. Keller, Two Byzantine scholars and their reception in Italy. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957) 363–370.

72 Momigliano, The place of Herodotus (as footnote 59 above) 127–142; A. Folley, Valla's Herodotean labours: towards a new view of Herodotus in the Italian Renaissance, in J. Priestley / V. Zali (eds.) Herodotus' reception from antiquity and beyond. Leiden 2016, 213–231.

73 Mohler, Bessarion (as footnote 66 above) 325–331.

74 G.B. Alberti, Il codice laurenziano Greco LXX, 6 e la traduzione latina di Erodoto di Lorenzo Valla. *Maia* 11 (1959) 315–19. idem, Autografi greci di Lorenzo Valla nel Codice Vaticano Greco 122. *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 3 (1960) 287–290. However, Valla could have also used an apograph of Plut. gr. 70.06 rather than the fourteenth-century manuscript itself as this would require Plut. gr. 70.06 to have been in Italy in the 1450's.

75 S. Pagliaroli, L'Erodoto del Valla. Messina 2006, 25–38.

The Reception of *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* in the West and the East

While there is yet no conclusive evidence concerning the general readership of Laonikos' historical magnum opus in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the manuscript tradition and the publication history of *Ἀπόδειξις Ἱστοριῶν* provide some important clues concerning its reception. In addition, the treatise of Theodore Spandounes also reveals some relevant details.

The large number of surviving manuscript copies of the *Ἀπόδειξις* – there are at least 30 manuscripts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – hints that the work was popular even before it was printed.[76] Further, a Latin translation by Philipp Gundel (1493–1567) was already being circulated in manuscript format before the first print edition, illustrating early interest for the *Ἀπόδειξις* in the Latin speaking west.[77] The first print edition of 1556 cites Conrad Clauser (c. 1515–1611) as the Latin translator. The reprint of 1562, however, indicates that Clauser had emended the Latin exemplar by Philipp Gundel.[78] Both editions were published by the printing house of Johannes Oporinus in Basel.[79] While D. Reinsch considers the first print edition to belong to the newly created *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae*, G.R. de Candal suggests that it belongs more to the genre of the *Turcica* that was popular in the west at this time.[80] Indeed, the *Ἀπόδειξις* was published together with other tracts on the Ottomans in the 1556 edition. This first edition, for example, included a treatise on the origin of the Turks by the Byzantine émigré intellectual Theodore Gazes (c. 1400–1475/6) which

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76 Laonikos Chalkokondyles (as footnote 2 above) vol. 1, xvi-xxv.

77 D.R. Reinsch, Hieronymus Wolf as editor and translator of Byzantine texts, in P. Marciniak / D.C. Smythe (eds.) The reception of Byzantium in European Culture since 1500. Ashgate 2016, 51.

78 De Candal, Bibliographia Historica Byzantina (as footnote 2 above) 174, 204, 206–207. According to De Candal, the 1562 reprint also had a counterfeit reissue. This variant does not refer to either Clauser or Bundel on the title page.

79 In addition to printing the *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* and classical texts, Oporinus also published the famous Latin translation of the Koran. It should be noted that Laonikos' publication by the Protestant Oporinus as well as the favorable presentation of Islam and the insidious critique of the Papacy that one finds in the *Ἀπόδειξις* deserve a fuller treatment than it is possible to do here. Concerning Oporinus' difficulties in printing the Bibliander translation of the Koran, the intervention of Luther and Melanchton to publish the work in the face of Protestant opposition, see H. Clark, The publication of the Koran in Latin a Reformation dilemma. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15.1 (Spring 1984) 3–12.

80 Reinsch, Hieronymus Wolf (as footnote 77 above) 51; De Candal, Bibliographia (as footnote 2 above) 40–42.

had been composed in 1470.[81] Importantly, the early sixteenth-century aristocrat Theodore Spandounes – an intellectual of Byzantine extraction and writing in Italian on the origin of the Ottoman emperors also in the genre of *Turcica* – had utilized Laonikos as early as 1509.[82]

Spandounes must have paid close attention to Laonikos and must have read him in tandem with the earliest Ottoman historians as he correctly deciphered an incongruent detail concerning Ottoman regnal fratricide in these historiographical works. This notorious practice which had been codified by Mehmed II in the *Kanunnâme* in order "to preserve the social order", had met with much criticism among both the Ottoman *reaya* and the *ghazi/dervish* circles.[83] The early Ottoman historians, among them Enverî, Oruç, and Neşrî, dated the first instance of this practice to the time of Bayezid I (1389 – 1402).[84] Among the fifteenth-century historians Laonikos provided the most extensive account of both the historical particulars as well as the ritualistic aspects of Ottoman fratricide.[85] He, however, dated this practice to a much earlier period and to the reign of Orhan (c. 1281 – 1362). Spandounes made note of the discrepancy between Laonikos and the Ottoman historians. He briefly related that "some Christian authors have it" that Orhan had his three brothers killed after he ascended the throne, mirroring Laonikos' account. Spandounes also wrote that the Turkish historians make no mention of this.[86] In fact there is definite overlap between Laonikos and

81 On the European demand for information on the Turks and on Theodore Gazes more specifically see M. Meserve, Empires of Islam in Renaissance historical thought. Cambridge and London 2008, 123 – 142.

82 D.M. Nicol (ed. and tr.), Theodore Spandounes, On the origin of the Ottoman Emperors. Cambridge 1997; C.N. Sathas, Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας. Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge IX. Paris 1890, 133 – 261.

83 On Ottoman fratricide and on the historiographical responses to Mehmed II's codification, see Kafadar, Between two worlds (as footnote 41 above) 95 – 110, 135 – 138; A. Özcan, Fatih'in Teşkilat Kanunnâmesi ve Nizâm-ı Âlem için Kardeş Katli Meselesi. *Tarih Dergisi/Turkish Journal of History* 33 (1982), 7 – 56; M. Akman, Osmanlı Devletinde Kardeş Katli, İstanbul 1997.

84 N. Öztürk (ed.), Fatih Devri Kaynaklarından Düstûrnâme-i Enverî Osmanlı Tarihi Kısmı (1299 – 1466). İstanbul 2003, 34; N. Öztürk (ed.), Oruç Beğ Tarihi Osmanlı Tarihi (1288 – 1502). İstanbul 2014, 29; F. Reşit Unat / M.A. Köymen (eds.) Mehmed Neşri Kitâb-ı Cihannümâ. Ankara 1987, vol. 1, 305 – 307.

85 A. Akışık-Karakullukçu / D. Kastritsis, Narrating Ottoman politics in the fifteenth century: perspectives from some Byzantine and Ottoman histories, in R. Goshgarian / I. Khuri-Makdisi / A. Yaycıoğlu (eds.) Festschrift for Cemal Kafadar (forthcoming).

86 Nicol (ed. and tr.), Theodore Spandounes, On the origin of the Ottoman Emperors (as footnote 82 above) 17; C.N. Sathas, Μνημεῖα Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας. Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge IX (as footnote 82 above) 143. "Alcuni scrittori de Christiani vogliono che questo, per non haver ostaculo all'imperio, fece morire tre suoi fratelli. Li hystor-

Spandounes and the *Turcica* authors more generally. All thoroughly engage with Ottoman source material such as Ottoman stories of Oghuz genealogy, Ottoman customs, or information on Ottoman social groups. However, Laonikos is set apart from the others in his radical classicizing approach, conscious application of the Herodotean model to study the Ottomans and other ethnic groups, and remarkably unique disinterest in the otherworldly aspects of Christianity. In these ways, Laonikos should be considered as a proper historian with a satisfactory and particular methodology rather than as a mere recorder of ethnographic details.

Whatever the case may have been regarding the genre of the 1556 edition, the editor Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580) eventually published Laonikos again in 1562. In this new edition, Wolf published Laonikos and the fourteenth-century Byzantine historian Nikephoras Gregoras together as an installment of the Corpus which was being funded by the Fuggers.[87] Importantly for our purposes, the Fuggers, who had made their fortune in banking, sought manuscripts of Byzantine historians in the east through their agents and provided Wolf with access to their library. However, this was not the avenue through which Wolf arrived at Laonikos' work. Rather, Wolf decided to include Laonikos in the Corpus after reading him in Latin translation.[88] Thus, the *Ἀπόδειξις* appears to have been in wider circulation in the west than it was in the east in the mid-sixteenth century. It is also noteworthy that Wolf published Laonikos only in Latin, not having been able to locate a decent Greek copy. Meanwhile all the other Byzantine historians were published in bilingual editions in the Corpus. In the dedication letter of 1562, Wolf elaborated that the testimony of Laonikos was a crucial narrative for the sixteenth-century western reading public as the Ottomans loomed large in the European imagination.[89]

Wolf is often credited with having initiated the German academic study of the medieval Eastern Roman civilization and for having coined the term "Byzantine" to distinguish it from the preceding period of classical Greek antiquity. However, as I have discussed Laonikos had already constructed a similar temporal and ideological narrative for the medieval Eastern Empire, consistently and systematically referring to the capital city and its emperors by using that same designation – Byzantion. Further, Wolf's dedication letter for the 1562 edition in-

iographi veramente de Turchi non ne fanno alcuna mentiona …" Spandounes, in turn, dates the first case of fratricide to the reign of Murad I (1362–1389) rather than to the reign of his son Bayezid I.

87 De Candal, Bibliographia (as footnote 2 above) 204–205.

88 Reinsch, Hieronymus Wolf (as footnote 77 above) 46–51.

89 De Candal, Bibliographia (as footnote 2 above) 208–210.

cluded a crucial paraphrase from Laonikos' Proem.[90] Thus, one may surmise that Laonikos must have exerted some influence on his editor Wolf when the latter sought to delineate the contours of the emerging field of Byzantine studies. (Personal communication with the late Angeliki Laiou, April 2004).

While it is possible to trace the western reception of the *Ἀπόδειξις* in some concrete detail through its printed editions, the same does not hold for similarly gauging its reception in the east because printing was not as wide spread in the Ottoman Empire as it was in the west. However, one should not pass over in silence the Ottoman polymath Kâtip Çelebi's (1609–1657) translation of the *Ἀπόδειξις* into Ottoman Turkish.[91] When he set out to translate portions of the work as part of a book project focusing on Constantinople, *Târih-i Kostantiniyye ve Kayâsıre*, Kâtip Çelebi used the 1587 edition of the Corpus published in Frankfurt which included all four of the Byzantine historians: Zonaras, Niketas Choniates, Nikephoras Gregoras, and Laonikos Chalkokondyles. In the introduction, Kâtip Çelebi also notes that his translation is an abridgement of the original. In my opinion, the fact that Kâtip Çelebi relied on a Latin print edition rather than a Greek manuscript or even the 1615 Greek print edition further illustrates that the *Ἀπόδειξις* was not as well-known nor as well-circulated in the east as it was in the west.

Conclusion

Laonikos' popularity in early modern Europe was closely intertwined with European fascination with and demand for information on the Ottomans and their interest in the Byzantines. The *Ἀπόδειξις* was printed as *L'Histoire de la Decadence de l'Empire Grec et Establissement de celuy des Turc* in the numerous French editions throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the French title alone illustrates that it was received primarily as a history of the Greeks and the Turks. The historian was similarly presented as a Greek by Vigenre in the preface[92] and this early modern reputation has colored subsequent evaluations of Laonikos and his historical work. However, Laonikos' self-representation as a Hellene, writing a universal Herodotean-style history of the the

90 Ibid., 209. This paraphrase is concerned with the onomastic practice of the Byzantine Emperors who called themselves Romans rather than Greeks. The implications of this brief yet critical passage from the *Ἀπόδειξις* have been discussed above.

91 I extend thanks to Cemal Kafadar for this precious information: İ. Solak, Kâtip Çelebi, Târih-i Kostantiniyye ve Kayâsıre. Konya 2009.

92 De Candal, Bibliographia (as footnote 2 above) 40–42.

Hellenes and the Ottomans, was calibrated for a limited but influential audience of elite Byzantine émigrés and their western counterparts. Laonikos' formulations of identity, namely his wholesale adoption of Hellenism, locating Roman identity in the west, portrayal of Mehmed II and the Ottomans, pro-Unionist and pro-Venetian discourse, and adoption of Herodotus as historiographical model correspond to the expectations of that western audience. Comparing Laonikos' historical work with those post-Byzantine intellectuals who chose to remain in their homeland, such as Gennadios Scholarios, Kritoboulos, and Amiroutzes, further demonstrates that the historian's intended audience were not the *Rum* intellectuals of Konstantiniyye but the Hellenes in the west.

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Julie Boeten and Sien De Groot

The Byzantine antiquarian: a case study of a compiled colophon

Abstract: In this article, we present a colophon epigram found in the manuscript Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, gr. II C 33. We edit the text, provide a translation and commentary and supply it with a thorough metrical analysis. Throughout the article, we investigate whether the scribe meant this colophon to be one text or three separate texts. By doing so, we will touch upon broader issues, such as Byzantine metrics in general and the Byzantine habit of compiling texts from an antiquarian perspective.

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I. Introduction

Byzantine manuscripts have proven to be real treasure troves for texts other than the well-known main texts. Indeed, the main texts are surrounded by different kinds of accompanying material, such as titles, scholia, images and marginal notes. One of the most popular kinds of these so-called paratexts is the colophon.[1] Mostly found at the end of the manuscript, the colophon provides us with invaluable information about the production of the manuscript, such

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1 M. D. Lauxtermann, Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and contexts. *WBS*, 24/1. Vienna 2003, 198. 200–201.

as the name of the scribe, the place and date of production, the patron who ordered the manuscript, etc.

Colophons could be written in prose (and they usually are in, for example, Latin manuscripts), but a considerable number of Byzantine colophons displays at least the intention of the scribe to compose metrical verses, usually dodecasyllables. For this purpose, some conventional formulas circulated, that could either serve as colophons on their own, or could precede a longer text. Two of the most popular colophon formulas are the following ones:

Ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἰδεῖν πατρίδα,
οὕτως καὶ οἱ γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλος.[2]

Like travellers rejoice upon seeing their homeland,
so too do scribes upon reaching the end of the book.[3]

Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ,
γραφὴ δὲ μένει εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους.[4]

The hand that wrote rots in the grave,
but the writing remains till the end of time.[5]

Both formulas were extremely widespread in Byzantine manuscripts and were eagerly elaborated upon by the scribes who copied them into their manuscripts. Words could be replaced by (near) synonyms, the orthography varied from one manuscript to another and even entire verses could be added to the epigram. The formulas were sometimes also included in other, longer epigrams.

We will not go into much detail about the particular occurrences of each of the formulas. Gérard Garitte[6] and Basileios Atsalos[7] have collected numerous manuscript witnesses of the ἡ χείρ-formula, while Kurt Treu[8] and Julie Boeten

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2 http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/199 – last consulted 22/06/2018.
3 Lauxtermann, Byzantine poetry (as footnote 1 above), 201.
4 http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/typ/76 – last consulted 22/06/2018.
5 ibid., 200.
6 G. Garitte, Sur une formule des colophons de manuscrits grecs, in : Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita. Vatican 1962.
7 B. Atsalos, Die Formel Ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα … in den griechischen Handschrifte, in G. Cavallo (ed.), Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Spoleto 1991, 691 – 750.
8 K. Treu, Der Schreiber am Ziel. Zu den Versen Ὥσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν … und ähnlichen, in K. Treu et al. (eds.), Studia Codicologica. Berlin 1977, 473 – 492.

and Mark Janse[9] investigate the ὥσπερ ξένοι-formula more deeply. Other articles explore the relationship with manuscripts in other languages such as Armenian and Syriac, in which these very same colophon formulas also occur.[10] Furthermore, we refer the reader to the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*, which aims to collect all occurrences of Greek book epigrams and which has by now assembled most of these popular formulas in manuscripts dated from 500 to 1500.[11]

In this article, we will focus on one particular occurrence of the 'ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα' formula, transmitted in the manuscript Napoli, *Biblioteca Nazionale*, gr. II C 33. This miscellaneous codex consists of seven parts that were brought together into one book towards the end of the 15th century. The manuscript bears several subscriptions, the first of which is situated on f. 48r and reads 'ἰω(άν)νης νοτάριος ταυτέγράφη'.[12] A second, longer verse subscription was added on f. 476v, in which the scribe calls himself 'ἰω(άννης) ὁ χθαμαλὸς τοὐπίκλην ξηροκάλιτ(ος)'.[13]

The colophon epigram in which we are interested is situated towards the end of the manuscript, on f. 518r. It concludes a collection of letters by several authors, most of which are written by Photius. The last letter, immediately preceding our colophon, is *Epistula* 9 ascribed to Plato. A diplomatic transcription of the epigram can be found on the *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams:* www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5310.

II. Edition and translation

In this paragraph, we present a normalized edition of the epigram under examination, accompanied by a translation.

Ἡ χεὶρ μὲν ἡ γράψασα σήπεται τάφῳ.
Θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν τὴν ἅπασαν εἰ δράμῃς,

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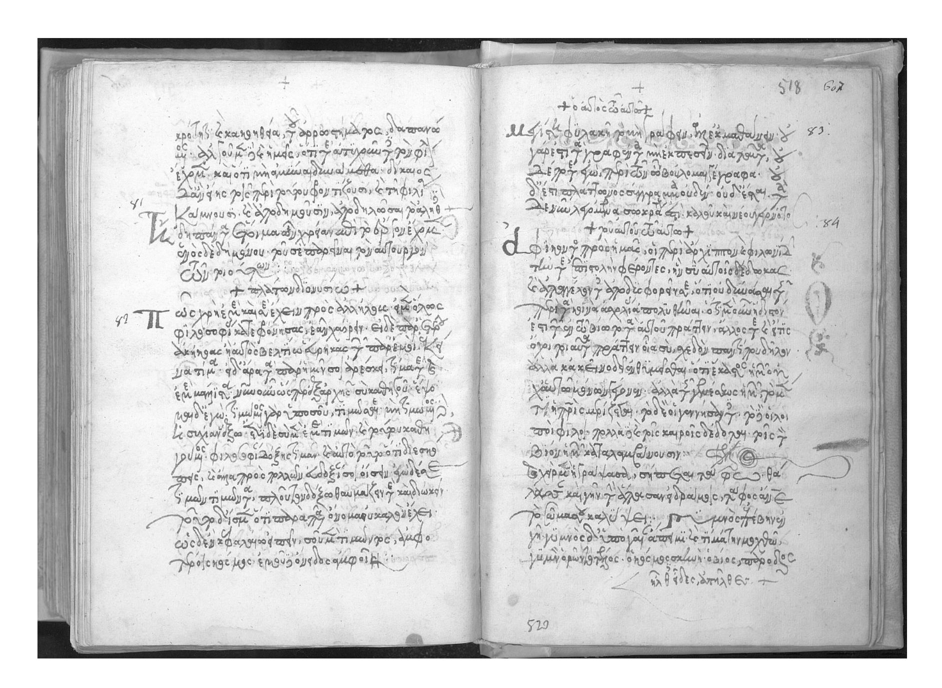
9 J. Boeten / M. Janse, A cognitive analysis of metrical irregularities in the Ὥσπερ ξένοι book epigrams. *BMGS* 42 (2018) 79 – 91.

10 See e. g. S. P. Brock, The scribe reaches harbour. *BF* 11 (1995) 195 – 202; A. McCollum, The rejoicing sailor and the rotting hand: two formulas in Syriac and Arabic colophons. *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 18 (2015) 67 – 93.

11 http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/

12 Cited from G. Pierleoni, Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Neapolitanae I. Roma 1962, 281. Written in a monocondyllion.

13 http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5905 – last consulted 22/06/2018.



Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, gr. II C 33: f. 518r (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali © Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli)

τάφος, ἄνθρωπε, τὸ σῶμα σου καλύψει.
——————————————————————————
Γυμνὸς ἐπέβην ἐν γῇ, γυμνὸς δ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἄπειμι·
καὶ τί μάτην μοχθῶ, γυμνὸν ὁρῶν τὸ τέλος;
Ὁ κόσμος σκηνή, ὁ βίος πάροδος· ἦλθες, εἶδες, ἀπῆλθες.

v. 2 δράμῃς] cod. δράμοις

Sources

v. 4–5: cfr. *AP* X.58 – r. 6: cfr. Diels/Kranz 1935, 165

The hand that has written this rots in a grave.
Even if you'd run over the sea and the entire earth,
A grave, human, will cover your body.
——————————————————————————
I came on earth naked, naked I will go under the earth.
And why should I toil in vain, if I see the naked end?

The world is a stage, life is a performance: you came, you saw, you departed.

III. Commentary

This case study is unique in its treatment of one of the scribal formulas cited in the introduction, as it draws inspiration from at least three different sources.[14]

The first three verses constitute an elaborated variant of the ἡ χείρ-formula. This particular occurrence only retains the first verse of the formula and continues with two verses that are otherwise unknown to us and may therefore either be composed by the scribe himself or taken from a lost or unknown source. In any case, the message is clear: man cannot escape death.

Vv. 4 and 5 are based on an epigram from the *Anthologia Palatina*, with some slight variations:

Γῆς ἐπέβην **γυμνὸς** γυμνὸς **θ'** ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἄπειμι·
καὶ τί μάτην μοχθῶ γυμνὸν ὁρῶν τὸ τέλος;
(AP X.58)[15]

The original elegiac distich is part of the tenth book of the *Anthologia* and belongs to a collection of gnomic epigrams ascribed to Palladas.[16] Our colophon, however, is marked by some changes in word order, which cause the first verse of the distich to scan faulty.

The last line of the colophon is known to us as a philosophical fragment in prose:

ὁ κόσμος σκηνή, ὁ βίος πάροδος· ἦλθες, εἶδες, ἀπῆλθες.
(Diels/Kranz 1935, 165) = fragment B 115, *84

The fragment is usually transmitted in a collection of sayings ascribed to the philosopher Democritus, some of which may be original while others are cer-

14 A similar case of an epigram compiled from other sources is discussed in P. Odorico, Poésies à marge, réflexions personnelles? Quelques observations sur les poésies du Parisinus graecus 1711, in F. Bernard / K. Demoen (eds.), Poetry and its contexts in eleventh-century Byzantium. Burlington 2012, 207–224.

15 Cited from H. Beckby, Anthologia Graeca III. München 1958, 506.

16 Ibid., 473. Palladas was a fourth-century school teacher who lived in Alexandria and wrote gnomic and satiric poems: Der Neue Pauly s.v. Palladas, accessed online through https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/der-neue-pauly/palladas-e904550?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.der-neue-pauly&s.q=palladas; last consulted 19/02/2019.

tainly not. Diels/Kranz[17] assume that our particular text belongs to the latter category.[18]

If we take into account the visual presentation of the colophon, we must conclude that we can neither state that it is *one* text (as do Pierleoni[19] and Atsalos,[20] who both edit the colophon as a continuous text), nor that we are dealing here with *three* separate texts. The scribe sets apart the first three verses by adding a typical manuscript sign, consisting of three dots in the shape of a triangle (·.·) after καλύψει. This popular sign usually indicates the end of a text or section. Moreover, the word Γυμνός is marked as the beginning of a new text since it starts with an enlarged initial Γ written in red ink. Surprisingly, however, the scribe has by no means indicated a division between the second and the third part of the poem or, in other words, between v. 5 and 6. At this point, he merely wrote a high dot (·), used elsewhere in the text to highlight the division of verses or even cola within verses (see below under IV.2: *The commatic style of our case study*). Thus, we can conclude that our scribe considered the last three lines as one text.

This observation can be explained by looking at the manuscript tradition of the last two text segments. As mentioned in the edition of Diels/Kranz, the fragment of Ps.-Democritus follows after the very same epigram *AP* X.58 in four out of the five manuscripts used by the editors, which are, primarily, collections of

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17 H. Diels / W. Kranz, Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. Griechisch und Deutsch. Zweiter Band. Berlin 1935, 165. The fragment is preceded by an *, which marks it as a "sicher unechtes Einschiebsel."

18 An interesting parallel to the last line of our epigram can be noted in the first two verses of a funerary inscription on a herme from Rome (2nd–3rd century AD):

Οὐκ ἤμην, γενόμην· ἤμην, οὐκ εἰμί· τοσαῦτα·
εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ἐρέει, ψεύσεται· οὐκ ἔσομαι.
Χαῖρε δίκαιος ὤν.
Ὦ παῖ, φυλάσσου, μὴ σφαλῇς· ἡ γλῶσσά τοι
αὐτὴ μὲν οὐδέν, ἡνίκ' ἂν λέγῃ, πονεῖ,
ὅταν δὲ ἁμάρτῃ, πολλὰ προσβάλλει κακά.
(*IG* XIV 1201; *GVI* 1959).

These two lines express the same idea of transience found in the last line of our epigram. Moreover, similarly to our case study, this inscription combines an elegiac distich (v. 1–2) with prose (v. 3) and iambic trimeter (v. 4–6).

19 Pierleoni, Catalogus (as footnote 12 above), 282. Pierleoni, moreover, does not seem to be aware of the fact that the text is (partially) metrical and transcribes it as if it were an entirely prose subscription.

20 Atsalos, Formel (as footnote 7 above), 727.

gnomic sayings of Democritus.[21] As an example, we refer to the manuscript Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek *Pal. gr.* 356 (14th century), which contains a set of gnomes of several philosophers on f. 143v-155r. On f. 144v we read first the epigram of the *AP* and then the fragment of Ps.-Democritus. In other words, the epigram was at some point silently inserted into the otherwise prose collection of gnomes, which was facilitated by its similarity in content to the gnomic sayings and to this fragment in particular. However, the manuscript does not indicate in any way that we are dealing with poetry. Moreover, both texts are clearly separated and do not (yet) form one whole, as they do in our colophon.

Similarly, in manuscripts in which the distich is preserved within an anthology of metrical epigrams, we notice that it may be followed by the prose fragment of Ps.-Democritus, without any indication that we are shifting from poetry to prose or that this fragment stems from a different source. The manuscript Paris, *BnF* gr. 1630 (14th century), for example, contains a small collection of epigrams, amongst which, on f. 62v, the epigram *AP* X.58, followed by the fragment of Ps.-Democritus, which is, again, marked as a separate text. Seemingly, the prose fragment was not felt to be out of place within an anthology of poems.

These observations lead us to some conclusions. It is obvious that the two texts were somehow felt to be connected from at least the 14th century onwards. The order of the fragments is fixed: the epigram comes first and is followed by the gnome. The colophon in our manuscript, however, does present some innovations in comparison to the examples we have analysed. Firstly, it presents the two texts as one whole and not as two consecutive yet separate texts. Secondly, as will be discussed below, the first verse of the distich is slightly adapted in the colophon epigram, which is not the case in the other witnesses. Both of these innovations may be unique to our case study, or may come from an earlier source that is now unknown to us.

In short, we cannot indisputably state that these six verses/lines form one text as such, since the scribe indicated a division after the third verse. However, the colophon is still conceived as a meaningful whole, governed by an unmistakable unity of content. The different portions of text are centred around the idea that death is inescapable and that we will eventually return to the earth from which we sprung. As such, they form a short dialogue, since the first and third part are written in the second person, while the second part is written in the first person. The cohesion between the parts is stressed even further by the repetition of the word γῆ both in the elaboration of the ἡ χείρ-formula (v. 2) and in the second part of the colophon (v. 4). The presence of other words re-

21 Diels/Kranz, Fragmente (as footnote 17 above), 165.

ferring to the earth or the world (v. 4 γαῖαν, v. 6 κόσμος) additionally reinforces the thematic link between the parts.

Remarkably, our colophon does not refer to any type of afterlife at all. The usual conclusion of the ἡ χείρ-formula is that the writings of a scribe will remain forever, even after his death, thus ensuring his immortality. Although the ἡ χείρ-epigrams display a substantial amount of variation, they are rather consistent in retaining this idea, even if they formulate it differently. A smaller number of occurrences, for example, replaces the second verse (γραφὴ δὲ μένει εἰς χρόνους πληρεστάτους) with a direct entreaty to the reader to pray for the scribe to have a good afterlife or to remember him while reading his texts.[22]

In our case study, however, the idea of a good afterlife is replaced by a complete focus on the vanity of life, which is present in the three constitutive parts of the epigram and forms, as such, the core around which the different pieces are centred. The most remarkable expression of the idea is to be found in the fragment of Ps.-Democritus. In this text, the world is compared to a theatre, in which man is merely an actor who plays his role and then leaves the stage. This *topos* was very popular from antiquity onwards,[23] occurred in the Byzantine period and reached great popularity in the Baroque period, as is described, for example, by Barner in his book on Baroque rhetoric.[24]

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22 See, for example *DBBE* 1651 (http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1651 – last consulted 28/06/2018). The epigram preserves the first verse of the formula and continues with a series of horrible events that will befall us after death. Lastly, the poet asks the readers to remember him, followed by the date of composition. Thus, the epigram evokes the notion that the texts written by the scribe can offer him immortality in the memory of his readers.

23 See for example Plato, *Philebus* 51c: Μηνύει δὴ νῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐν θρήνοις τε καὶ ἐν τραγῳδίαις <καὶ κωμῳδίαις>, μὴ τοῖς δράμασι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ **τῇ τοῦ βίου συμπάσῃ τραγῳδίᾳ καὶ κωμῳδίᾳ**, λύπας ἡδοναῖς ἅμα κεράννυσθαι, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὴ μυρίοις (J. Burnet, Platonis opera II. Oxford 1901 [repr. 1967]: St II.11a-67b.)

24 W. Barner, Barockrhetorik. Untersuchungen zu ihren geschichtlichen Grundlagen. Tübingen 1970, 86 – 131, in which the author gives examples of how different traditions and authors use the image of the *theatrum mundi*. His main focus is the use of the image in Baroque works, but he also mentions earlier examples, including the fragment of Ps.-Democritus. Famous Baroque examples are Shakespeare, *As you like it:* "All the worlds a stage, / And all the men and women merely players" (Barner 87) and Vondel in an epigram written above the entrance to the National Theatre in Amsterdam: "De weereld is een speeltooneel, / Elck speelt zijn rol en krijght zijn deel" (Barner 87). Both of these references date from the 17th century. A Byzantine example of the *topos* can be found in the work of Theodore Prodromos, as discussed by E. Cullhed, Theodore Prodromos in the garden of Epicurus, in A. Cameron / N. Gaul, Dialogues and debates from late antiquity to late Byzantium. London / New York 2017, 153 – 166.

IV. Metrical Structure

How can we be sure that these texts may be edited in one and the same article, as though it were one text rather than three separate ones? Opposed what the content-based unity of the texts suggests, the formal characteristics very much propose that we are dealing with three separate segments. The poem consists of three different metrical sections which seem irreconcilable at first: can dodecasyllables, elegiacs and prose ever have been meant to be one whole?

If we try to interpret the text from a more Byzantine perspective, the metrical complexity of the occurrence poses no real difficulties. The way in which the Byzantines conceived of meter and rhythm was very different from how we think about poetry and prose today. Metrical complexity and hybridity abound in Byzantine book epigrams and it was not at all deemed strange if an author combined different kinds of meter in one poem, or even metrical lines with prose lines. Hybrid epigrams usually contain dodecasyllabic lines combined with political verse (some examples are *DBBE* 1800,[25] 5136,[26] 9206[27]), or dodecasyllables combined with a prose ending (e.g. *DBBE* 1980,[28] 3350,[29] 6357[30]). This has its counterpart in more literary texts as well: an example of political verses combined with hexameters is to be found in the *History* of John Tzetzes (§ 369).[31]

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25 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1800 – last consulted 28/06/2018. The first verse is a political verse, the second one is a dodecasyllable.

26 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5136 – last consulted 28/06/2018. The epigram is written entirely in dodecasyllables, except for the last verse, which is in political verse.

27 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/9206 – last consulted 28/06/2018. The first verse is a dodecasyllable, the second one is a political verse.

28 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/1980 – last consulted 28/06/2018. Verses 1 to 5 are dodecasyllables, v. 6 is a political verse and v. 7 is a dodecasyllable again. After this, the meter starts to waver, first with two lines with 13 syllables instead of 12 (vv. 8 – 9), then with a fourteen-syllable verse (v. 10), a political verse (v. 11), a dodecasyllable (v. 12) and another political verse (v. 13). After this, the meter is lost and lines 14 – 15 are prose. V. 16 is yet again a political verse.

29 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/3350 – last consulted 28/06/2018. The first part (up to v.3) are dodecasyllables, followed by two political verses (vv. 4 – 5), after which the poem slips away into a rhythmical sort of prose.

30 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/6357 – last consulted 28/06/2018. The first 3 verses are dodecasyllables, but from v. 4 onwards there is no metrical pattern anymore.

31 P. A. M. Leone, Ioannis Tzetzae historiae. Napoli 1968 (repr. Galatina 2007). This cannot be entirely equated with what happens in the epigram here, since Tzetzes purposely and deliberately combines these meters in some sort of literary game, which was most likely not the case for the author of the epigram. But it does show that the combination of several meters in one text was not deemed to be wrong or aberrant.

A combination of dodecasyllables with an elegiac distich and with prose, however, is quite rare and makes our case study especially interesting.

Poetry, prose and Asianic oratory

In order to come to a better understanding of the conception of meter and rhythm by the Byzantines, it is first of all important to note that there was no clear-cut distinction between prose and poetry in the Byzantine world as there is in our modern, western way of thinking. Especially the typically medieval, accentual meters[32] were not considered to be very different from prose texts.[33] The main reason for this is that Byzantine oratory was very rhythmical and abided by certain rhythmical rules, which made it resemble poetry.[34] The very popular Byzantine homily is an example of this. Its rhythmical characteristics are derived from what was called 'Asianic oratory' in Late Antique times (as opposed to 'Attic oratory') and which survived into Byzantine times in the form of liturgical texts, homilies or eulogies, due to its immense popularity in the lower classes of society.[35] The Asianic style was not fluent, like the Attic style was, but rather abrupt, in that the texts were subdivided into short prosodic units with a certain rhythm, that were repeated indefinitely. This made the text sound more 'rapid' than 'fluent' (cf. Lauxtermann and his idea of 'γοργότης').[36] This is what is called the 'commatic style' or 'writing κατὰ κῶλα καὶ κόμματα'.[37]

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32 These are the dodecasyllable and political verse (πολιτικὸς στίχος), since they are based on the alternation of accentuated and non-accentuated syllables. They are opposed to hexameters and elegiacs, which are prosodic meters, meaning that they are based on the alternation of long and short syllables. Some dodecasyllables maintain prosodic features as well, but their more obvious characteristics make them an accentual meter rather than a prosodic one.

33 M. D. Lauxtermann, The velocity of pure iambs: Byzantine observations on the meter and rhythm of the dodecasyllable. *JÖB* 48 (1998), 9 – 33; M. D. Lauxtermann, The spring of rhythm: an essay on the Political Verse and other Byzantine metre. *Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 22. Vienna 1999; W. Hörandner, Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner. *WBS*, 16. Vienna 1981; W. Hörandner, Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik der Byzantiner. Einige byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik. *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995) 279 – 290.

34 V. Valiavitcharska, Rhetoric and rhythm in Byzantium: the sound of persuasion. Cambridge 2013.

35 Lauxtermann, Spring of rhythm (as footnote 33 above); Valiavitcharska (as footnote 34 above).

36 Lauxtermann, Velocity (as footnote 33 above).

37 Cf. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* I.9: "I have considered it necessary to bring the following to mind: the holy Hiëronymus, out of consideration for his simple brothers, said in the preface to the Prophets (i.e. Praefatio in Esaiam) that, because of those who had not learned textual

Commatic texts consist of a series of self-contained clauses, easily cut up in smaller meaningful parts, which must have sounded very different from the flowing phrases of Atticist orators. This is also the reason why Cicero criticizes Asianic orators for almost singing their texts and why he spurns them as being slave of the rhythm.[38] The commatic style implies that the orator finishes one thought within one rhythmical unit (i.e. κόμμα), which is perfect for underlining parallelisms or antitheses and which also made the often difficult content of the text more manageable for uneducated audiences. Another rule that was consistently applied to commatic rhetorical texts was that of the 'Byzantine accentual cursus',[39] which is a rhythmical ending to a phrase or a semantic segment which signaled the end of this phrase or segment to the audience. This once again underlined the rhythmicality of the text.

Whereas the commatic style was connected with Asianic oratory and more 'vulgar' texts in Late Antiquity, it became the norm in later Byzantine times. Somewhere along the way, the bad reputation of this style must have gradually faded, as it became the manner in which a rhythmical text should be written rather than a choice of style. No doubt its popularity with more uneducated audiences was a contributing factor to the wide spread of this way of writing.

The rhetorical *commata* (κόμματα) of this commatic style resemble the metrical *cola* (κῶλα) or half verses of Byzantine metrics very much. Both have a prosodic unity, since they were pronounced as one whole, and both have a semantic unity, because one thought was finished within one unit. Moreover, the Byzantine accentual cursus is very similar to the consistent paroxytonic ending in accentual poetry (i.e. the consistent accentuation of the second-to-last syllable of

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distinction from their teachers in secular literature, he had subdivided his own translation into cola and commata (*colis et commatibus*), in accordance with how it is read today" (edition: R.A.B. Mynors, Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones. Oxford 1937). There are moreover manuscripts of the bible and writings of Cicero where the text is visually divided into κῶλα, which suggests that this technique was used to proclaim these texts to a wider audience.

38 Cicero, *Orator*, 231: "The orator who avoids these faults, who does not transpose words so that it seems to be done intentionally, who does not stuff in words as though to fill up the cracks, who does not *cut up and weaken his sentence in his pursuit of short rhythms*, who does not use the *same form of rhythm without variation*, will avoid nearly all faults" (edition and translation: G.L. Hendrickson, Brutus; Orator. Londen 1962). Also see Cicero, *Orator*, 212 – 214. About the bad reputation of Asianic rhetoric, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων 1 – 2 (L. Radermacher / H. Usener, Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant vol. 5. Leipzig 1899). He accuses the "new" rhetoric (i.e. Asianic rhetoric) of a "theatrical shamelessness" (ἀναίδεια θεατρική) and compares it to a "senseless harlot" (ἑταίρα δέ τις ἄφρων). It was considered to be vulgar, because of its popularity in the lower classes of society.

39 Valiavitcharska, Rhetoric (as footnote 34 above), 13 – 14.

each verse). In both cases, the end of a line or a phrase is clearly signaled to the audience.

In these respects, Byzantine prose resembles Byzantine poetry, but that is also true the other way around: Byzantine accentual poetry sometimes resembles prose as well. Some book epigrams in dodecasyllables or political verse do not seem to bother so much with the exact number of syllables, but rather display some sort of spontaneous expression of a deeper rhythmical feeling.[40] An example is *DBBE* 4823,[41] an epigram that starts off in dodecasyllables, interrupts this with a fourteen-syllable line (v. 3), goes on with political verses (vv. 4–8), interrupts yet again with a thirteen-syllable verse (v. 9), continues in political verses, and ends with another fourteen-syllable (v. 17) and thirteen-syllable verse (v. 18). The recurring metrical patterns indicate that it was indeed meant to be poetry – as do the consistent paroxytonic verse endings – but it cannot be pinned down or be considered one specific meter. Moreover, Hörandner[42] and Lauxtermann[43] assume that Byzantine accentual metrics may have originated from rhetorical rhythm and thus from prose.

This is not to say that there was no difference between prose and poetry at all for the Byzantines. However, we must assume more of a metrical-prosaic continuum, going from highbrow metrical poems on the one end to very low-register prose texts on the other, but also with texts that must be situated somewhere in the middle grey zone (such as *DBBE* 4823). One and the same text could thus migrate along this continuum and start off in a very poetical meter, but trail off in prose. Lauxtermann underscores this when he says: "In the Byzantine world, however, prose and poetry dance to the same tune and respond to the same rhythmical rules."[44]

The commatic style of our case study

If we now apply all of this to our case study, we may conclude that it is not quite as problematic as it seemed at first that two different types of meter are combined with prose and it moreover does not prove that it was meant to be three separate texts instead of one. The most important rhythmical feature of the epi-

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40 F. Bernard / K. Demoen, Book epigrams, in W. Hörandner / A. Rhoby / N. Zagklas (eds.), Brill's Companion to Byzantine Poetry, forthcoming.
41 www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/4823 – last consulted 28/06/2018.
42 Hörandner, Prosarhythmus; Hörandner, Beobachtungen (as footnote 33 above).
43 Lauxtermann, Velocity; Lauxtermann, Spring of rhythm (as footnote 33 above).
44 Lauxtermann, Spring of rhythm (as footnote 33 above), 77.

gram under scrutiny here is its segmentation into prosodic *cola* or *commata*, and this feature encompasses all three parts of the poem, thus uniting them in one rhythmical unity.

The first dodecasyllabic part of the poem (vv. 1–3) is broken up into the very typical *cola* or half-verses of Byzantine meter. The inner caesura after either the fifth or seventh syllable (v. 1 *B7*,[45] vv.2–3 *B5*) is a very strong line break in the dodecasyllable, which interrupts the prosody and often the semantic flow of the verse as well. Also note, moreover, how the scribe has visually marked each line break with a semicolon or a comma, thus visualizing this important breach in the line (cf. the transcription on www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5310).[46] Additionally, verse 3 does not maintain the prosody of the ancient iambic trimeter, which suggests that our scribe did not know how to produce prosodic verses or did not care about it very much.[47] The number of syllables (twelve), the inner caesura and the paroxytonic verse ending are the most prominent features of the first three lines of our case study.

The second part of the epigram is an elegiac (vv. 4–5) – or rather, is supposed to be an elegiac, since some adaptations by our scribe have made verse 4 metrically faulty. As was already mentioned earlier, the scribe based these lines of the epigram on an existing poem in the *Anthologia Palatina,* where the meter is entirely correct. Other manuscripts that are testimony of these lines (cf. supra) also maintain the correct meter of the *Anthologia*. What our scribe did, however, was change the word order, so that 'γυμνός' now stands first and 'γῆς'/'ἐν γῇ' is postponed until further down the line, thus ruining the hexameter. Why?

First of all, it is interesting to note that the punctuation marks (semicola and commas) that segmented the dodecasyllabic verses into *cola*, continue into the

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45 Maas, Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber. *BZ* 12 (1906) 278–323. Maas called the inner caesura of the dodecasyllable 'Binnenschluss' rather than 'caesura', because he believed the nature of the dodecasyllabic pause to be different from the caesura in prosodic meters. Derived from Maas's Binnenschluss, the abbreviation 'B' is often used, followed by the number of syllables preceding the Binnenschluss.

46 For more about dodecasyllables and a semicolon at the caesura, see W. Hörandner, Weitere Beobachtungen zu byzantinischen Figurengedichten und Tetragrammen. *Nea Rhome* 6 (2009) 291–304.

47 The first verse was almost certainly taken from another ἡ χείρ-formula that the scribe read in another manuscript, which accounts for the prosody in at least this line. However, it is uncertain whether the following two lines are originally from our scribe, or whether he copied them as well. It is striking that only the third verse is unprosodic and this seems to suggest that the last verse was produced by another scribe (either our scribe or an earlier one), who did not know how to produce prosodic lines.

elegiac part. We must assume that these indicate a simple pause in the pronunciation, quite in the same way as in a dodecasyllable.[48] What is striking, however, is that the punctuation mark in the faulty hexameter is situated after the seventh syllable, as though it were a dodecasyllabic *colon*. When one goes from line 3 to line 4 and starts reading 'Γυμνὸς ἐπέβην ἐν γῇ·', one might at first assume that the dodecasyllables simply continue, since this half verse could easily be mistaken for a first *colon* of a dodecasyllable. This would not have been possible if the original word order of the poem in the *Anthologia Palatina* was retained. It thus seems like our scribe still had the rhythm of the dodecasyllable stuck in his head whilst proceeding to a hexameter, and sacrificed the prosodic correctness of the hexameter to his need for a continued use of the same *cola*.

The punctuation marks of the previous two passages also persist into the final and prosaic part of the poem. There is a clear tendency to subdivide the text into *commata*, in the same way as happened in Asianic oratory. It does not attempt to be metrical in any way, but it exhibits the commatic style, thus including it into the poem, despite it being in prose, and sustaining the fractional character of the entire text.

The prosody was not considered to be the most important metrical feature in this epigram, since both the dodecasyllables and the elegiac exhibit prosodic mistakes. Rather, the combination of *cola* and the vague concept of εὐρυθμία ('harmony', 'gracefulness')[49] are central. More than anything, the segmentation of the text into *cola* or *commata* was what made the text rhythmical.

V. The Byzantines as antiquarians

The scribe who wrote down this colophon may, to our modern eyes, seem to be a compiler rather than an author, since his job basically consisted of taking pieces of text from different sources and reassembling them. Thus, the colophon testifies of the Byzantine antiquarian habit that is obvious in different genres, i.e. the tendency to compile pieces of text or information from earlier sources and rear-

48 With the loss of the distinction between long and short syllables, the original pronunciation of the hexameter was also lost. Whichever role caesurae may have had in the ancient pronunciation, they have now become a clear line break for the Byzantines, in the same way as the Binnenschlüsse functioned in the dodecasyllables. M.D. Lauxtermann, Appendix Metrica, forthcoming, 301: "… the Pisidian hexameter was well on the way to becoming a truly accentual meter: a 17-syllable verse …" The caesura had therefore become a Binnenschluss.

49 H.G. Lidell / R. Scott / H.S. Jones / R. McKenzie, A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford 1966.

range them in order to achieve a new and meaningful whole. A radical example of this is the *cento*, a poetic form that tells a new story in verses taken from an older work.[50]

This antiquarian predilection has an impact on a larger scale as well. A good example of this is to be found in Byzantine book production. Although codices that were entirely devoted to the work of a single author are well attested, a considerable amount of manuscripts are in fact compilations or *florilegia*. In other words, their compilers collected different texts or fragments of texts, sometimes very short, and brought them together into one codex. These constitutive parts were not chosen at random, but were organised around a certain central theme (or: several themes in the case of larger manuscripts). In fact, the manuscript in which our epigram is transmitted (i. e. Napoli, *Biblioteca Nazionale*, gr. II C 33) is an excellent example in this respect. The seven constitutive parts contain texts or fragments of texts centred around diverse topics, such as astrology, theology, hagiography and philosophy. Genre could also be a criterion for compilation, as is illustrated by the collection of letters preceding our colophon.[51]

Our short ἡ χείρ-epigram in a sense gives testimony of a similar literary preference as that of the *cento* or that of the manuscript collector, albeit on a much smaller scale. It collects several shorter fragments that are centred around the

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50 K.O. Sandnes, The Gospel 'according to Homer and Virgil.' Cento and canon. Leiden 2011, 3: "In short, a cento is a pastiche of lines or quotes from a classical text." Or p. 108: "Centos are poems made up entirely of verses lifted, verbatim or with only slight modification, from Virgil, if they are Virgilian centos, or from the Iliad and Odyssey, if Homeric centos. A cento is thus a poem or a poetic sequence made up of recognizable lines from one or more existing poems, usually highly valued literature." See also, amongst others, M. D. Usher, Prolegomenon to the Homeric Centos. *American Journal of Philology* 118 (1997) 305 – 321; S. McGill, Virgil recomposed. The mythological and secular centos in antiquity. Oxford 2005; S. S. Cullhed, Proba the Prophet. The Christian Virgilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba. *Menmosyne*, 378. Leiden/Boston 2015, 1 – 17 and bibliography offered by these publications.

51 Interestingly, one of the scribes of this manuscript describes the activity of compiling texts in a book epigram on f. 476v: *DBBE* 5905 (http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/5905 – last consulted 28/06/2018. The epigram gives us an excellent insight into the way in which Byzantines thought about the activity of collecting and reassembling older texts, as well as their purposes in doing so. In the first place, we can conclude that the selection of fragments for a manuscript could be made by the scribe and not necessarily by the person who commanded the book. The scribe makes this clear by using the participle ἐρανισάμενος (v. 4) and the emphasised personal pronoun ἔγωγε (v. 9). He has collected texts from many books (v. 4: ἀπὸ πολλῶν βιβλίων) and compares his activity to that of bees gathering honey, a common metaphor for collecting wisdom (v. 9 – 10). After this comparison, the poet tells us why he has made this collection. It was not only meant for learning, but also to bring pleasure to the soul of the readers and a welcome pause from work (v. 11 – 16).

same idea, thus constituting a meaningful whole. In some respects, the result is something radically new and typically Byzantine, as it unites several texts coming from different backgrounds and even written in different meters, although the question remains if the scribe was aware of this fact.

VI. Conclusion

Our compiled case study is edited as one text in this article, because it is in its entirety that it bears witness to the antiquarian habit of the Byzantines. There are nonetheless arguments both for and against it being one, two or three texts. The diacritical signs and visual aspects seem to suggest that we are dealing with two texts (vv. 1–3 and vv. 4–6) instead of one, but as a colophon it has clearly been constructed as one entity. This is illustrated by the unity of content throughout the several parts of the epigram. At first, the meter seems to be the main plea against a unified text, but metrical hybridity is in fact not as problematic as is often thought, and can therefore not be used as an argument against it being one whole.

If anything, this poem is a very Byzantine thing, because of its metrical complexity, in which the εὐρυθμία is achieved through the segmentation into *cola* or *commata*. But also the tendency to collect texts from several places, put them together and make them something entirely new, is a typically Byzantine characteristic. Our case study exhibits the very same antiquarian taste, but on a smaller level. Our scribe has assumed different texts and made them his own, thus creating an entirely new text.

Francis Cairns

An early Byzantine Pseudepigraphon: the Apocryphal *Acta Barnabae*

Abstract: This paper treats the fifth-century AD apocryphal *Acta Barnabae* (= *ABarn*). § I sets out briefly the consensus view of *ABarn*'s main aim – to establish the autocephaly of the Cypriot Church by endowing it with an apostolic founder, Barnabas, in a text modelled on *Acts* which affects to be contemporary with *Acts* and to be the work of John Mark. § II examines *ABarn*'s detailed interactions with *Acts*, its foregrounding of Barnabas over Paul, and its centralising of Cyprus in early Christianity; 'itinerary style' is highlighted as a prominent feature of *ABar*n's striving for verisimilitude. § III treats *ABarn*'s use of further 'novelistic' strategies for the same purpose; they mostly draw on topoi, but sometimes arguably on personal knowledge of Cyprus. § IV reflects on *ABarn*'s curious downgrading of its inscribed author, John Mark. This is attributed to the anti-Monophysite stance of the fifth-century (Orthodox) Cypriot Church towards both the Antiochene and Alexandrian Patriarchates.

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The present paper discusses the fifth-century AD apocryphal *Acta Barnabae*[1] (= *ABarn*), which narrates the activities, mainly in Cyprus, of the 'apostle' Barnabas, in the company first of Paul and then of John Mark. The 'historical author' of *ABarn* is unknown to us, but *ABarn* claims John Mark as its author; his role as *ABarn*'s 'inscribed author' must in part be a reflection of the prestige of two fur-

I am grateful to Ian DuQuesnay, Trevor Luke, Frederick Williams and the anonymous referees of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* for advice on this paper. Errors and opinions are mine alone.

1 Its full title is Περίοδοι καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου (The journeyings and martyrdom of St. Barnabas the Apostle); I. Czachesz, Commission narratives: a comparative study of the canonical and apocryphal Acts. *Studies in Early Christian Apocrypha*, 8. Leuven 2007, 194 – 203 advanced the theory that it draws on a version of the *Acts of Mark* no longer extant.

ther, different *personae* of the apostolic age, the Evangelist Mark and St Mark, founder of the Alexandrian Patriarchate.

Until recently scholarship on *ABarn* was sparse. Lipsius (1884) provided a commentary with emphasis on *ABarn*'s dating, historical context and function, and Bonnet (1898) printed a readable text.[2] In the first serious study of *ABarn* after Lipsius,[3] Starowieyski (1994) offered dates for *ABarn* (between 431 and 488),[4] and also for a related text, Alexander the Monk's *Sancti Barnabae Laudatio* (= *Laudatio*).[5] Next Czachesz (2007) 184–207 summarised *ABarn* and earlier scholarship on it, and examined *ABarn* as a 'commission narrative'[6] within the context of other apocryphal works; and most recently Rouquette (2016) has emphasised the differences in treatment between *ABarn* and the *Acts of Titus*.[7]

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2 R.A. Lipsius, Die Acten des Barnabas, in idem, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden: Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte, II.2. Braunschweig 1884, 270–320; M. Bonnet, Acta apostolorum apocrypha, II.1. Leipzig 1898 (repr. Darmstadt 1959), 270–320. – On the textual tradition of *ABarn* see now G.E. Snyder, The Acts of Barnabas: a new translation and introduction, in T. Burke / B. Landau (eds.), New Testament Apocrypha: more noncanonical scriptures I. Grand Rapids 2016, 318–319. For practical reasons the present paper is based on the text of Bonnet.

3 B. Kollmann, Joseph Barnabas: his life and legacy, trans. M. Henry. Collegeville, Minnesota 2004, 56–57 offers only a brief summary of *ABarn* and a few theological comments, but does provide a useful oversight of the figure of Barnabas in all extant sources.

4 M. Starowieyski, Datation des Actes (voyages) de S. Barnabé (BHG 225; ClAp 285) et du Panégyrique de S. Barnabé par Alexandre le Moine (BHG 226; CPG 7400; ClAp 286), in A. Schoors / P. Van Deun (eds.), Philohistor. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 60. Louvain 1994, 193–198. – F. Halkin, Les Actes apocryphes de saint Héraclide de Chypre, disciple de l'apôtre Barnabé. *Analecta Bollandiana* 82 (1964) 133–169: 136 had already suggested a more precise dating to the mid-fifth century.

5 I.e. between 518 and 648. M. Starowieyski, La légende de Saint Barnabé, in F. Amsler et al. (eds.), Nouvelles intrigues pseudoclémentines – Plots in the Pseudo-Clementine Romance. Actes du deuxième colloque international sur la littérature apocryphe chrétienne Lausanne – Genève, 30 août – 2 Septembre 2006. *Publications de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques*, 6. Lausanne 2008, 135–148: 137–144 further discussed *ABarn* and *Laudatio*, and now dated the latter to the mid-sixth century; for this dating and that of P. Van Deun (ed.), Sancti Barnabae Laudatio auctore Alexandro Monacho, in idem, Hagiographica Cypria. *CC Series Graeca*, 26. Turnhout 1993, 1–122: 16–21 see also below note 65. Ch. Oikonomou, Η εισαγωγή του Χριστιανισμού και η θεμελίωση της κυπριακής εκκλησίας, in Th. Papadopoullou (ed.), Ιστορία της Κύπρου Γ. Βυζαντινή Κύπρος. Lefkosia 2006, 102–104 has further remarks on both texts.

6 Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above): The term 'commission narrative' is applied in Religious Studies to an account of how an individual receives a mission from a divine source and carries it out.

7 M. Rouquette, Mémoire apostolique et pseudépigraphie. Une comparaison des Actes de Barnabé et des Actes de Tite. *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 91 (2016) 703–712; add A. De Santos Otero, Acta Barnabae, in W. Schneemelcher / R.McL. Wilson (eds.), New Testament

This present paper will suggest a number of new approaches to *ABarn*. § I will offer a commented account of the current scholarly consensus about the politico-ecclesiastical context within which *ABarn* was composed, and about *ABarn*'s principal intended function, with some added remarks on the related *Laudatio*, written subsequently for the same purpose. § II will examine how *ABarn*'s historical author, in order to present *ABarn*, not as an early Byzantine pseudepigraphon but as a genuine and reliable first-century AD work composed by its inscribed author John Mark, inserted his text into the narrative of the canonical *Acts of the Apostles* (= *Acts*), and also adopted some of the stylistic elements of *Acts*, while at the same time introducing important departures from *Acts*. § III will continue with an analysis of various further 'novelistic' strategies employed to create verisimilitude by *ABarn*'s historical author, whose personal acquaintance with Cyprus appears to be documented in the text of *ABarn*. Finally § IV will consider *ABarn*'s initially surprising down-playing of John Mark, and will relate it to a contemporary politico-ecclesiastical function of *ABarn* additional to that highlighted by Lipsius.

I. *ABarn* and *Laudatio:* the current Consensus

It has long been understood that *ABarn*'s main purpose was to show that the Church of Cyprus had the hallmark of an autocephalous church, viz. an 'apostolic' founder who established its sees, consecrated its first bishops, and was martyred on its soil.[8] The autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus needed to be upheld in the face of fifth-century assertions of supremacy over the Cypriot Church by the Antiochene Patriarchate.[9] The controversy began in the 410s, when

Apocrypha, 2 vols. Cambridge/Louisville 1991–92, II.465–467, the few brief notes and footnotes referenced at CZACHESZ, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 184 note 1, and SNYDER, Acts (as footnote 2 above).

8 This view goes back to LIPSIUS, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 291–297; on the development of 'apostolicity' as a criterion for autocephaly see esp. E. MORINI, Apostolicità ed autocefalia in una Chiesa orientale: la leggenda di S. Barnaba e l'autonomia dell'arcivescovato di Cipro nelle fonti dei secoli V e VI. *Studi e Ricerche sull'Oriente Cristiano* 2 (1979) 23–45.

9 For a detailed account of relations between the Churches of Antioch and Cyprus over this period see G. DOWNEY, The claim of Antioch to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Cyprus. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 102 (1958) 224–228, with bibliography at 224 note 1, where the importance of J. HACKETT, A history of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus: from the coming of the apostles Paul and Barnabas to the commencement of the British occupation (A.D. 45–A.D. 1878) together with some account of the Latin and other churches existing in the island. London 1901, 13–32 is duly noted; cf. also STAROWIEYSKI, Légende (as footnote 5 above),

Alexander, Bishop of Antioch, wrote to Pope Innocent I to persuade him that a canon of the Council of Nicaea (325) had given Antioch the right to appoint or approve, and to consecrate, the Metropolitan of Cyprus. Innocent temporised, and, although in 431 a subsequent bishop of Antioch, John, managed to enlist to his side the *magister militum* of the Diocese of the Orient, in the same year the Council of Ephesus decreed the independence of the Cypriot Church.[10] The decision in favour of Cyprus was probably facilitated by the dominance of the Council by the Alexandrian faction under Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, who was anti-Nestorius, and who was involved in a major clash with John, who was pro-Nestorius.[11]

In the last quarter of the fifth century the Patriarchate of Antioch renewed its attempt to claim authority over the Cypriot Church, and to deny the Cypriots the right to elect and consecrate their own bishops; Antioch at this point claimed as a fresh pretext that Christianity had come to Cyprus from Antioch, where the church was founded by an apostle. *ABarn* is a reaction to this second Antiochene pretext.[12] Its *terminus ante quem* is either 474 – 475 or more plausibly 485 – 488.[13] In one of these years, probably 488,[14] the body of Barnabas was 'discovered' in Cyprus, along with his Matthew gospel, by Bishop Anthemius of Salamis-Constantia; such 'discoveries' of relics and/or texts are recurrent features both of Early Christian apocrypha and contemporary church life.[15] The apostolicity of the Church of Cyprus was thus 'proved', and Emperor Zeno, to whom the Matthew gospel was dispatched, provided imperial confirmation of its independence.[16] Since *ABarn* offers a version of Barnabas' martyrdom in which he

195 – 198 and A.S. Jacobs, Epiphanius of Cyprus: a cultural biography of late antiquity. Oakland CA 2016, 123 – 124 with note 101.

10 Cf. Downey, Claim (as footnote 9 above), 224 – 227; Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 184 and note 2.

11 On Cyril's role in the Council of Ephesus see Downey, ibid. 227; W.H.C. Frend, The rise of the monophysite movement: Chapters in the history of the church in the fifth and sixth centuries. Cambridge 1972, 16 – 24.

12 On this second dispute and *ABarn*'s link to it see Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 296 – 297; Hackett, History (as footnote 9 above), 13 – 32; Downey, Claim (as footnote 9 above), 227 – 228; Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 184 and note 2, 189 – 192.

13 For the different datings see Czachesz, ibid. 184 and note 2.

14 Cf. Van Deun, Laudatio (as footnote 5 above), 17.

15 For some parallels cf. P.C. Dilley, The invention of Christian tradition: "Apocrypha," imperial policy, and anti-Jewish propaganda. *GRBS* 50 (2010) 586 – 615: 590 and *passim*; and, specifically on the 'discovery' of Barnabas' remains and its outcomes, 601 – 603.

16 Cf. Downey, Claim (as footnote 9 above), 228; Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 172 note 2; D.M. Metcalf, Byzantine Cyprus 491 – 1191. *Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus*, 62. Nicosia 2009, 308 – 310.

was burned to ashes, which were then encased in lead, *ABarn* must predate the 'discovery' of his entire body. *ABarn* either anticipated a different 'discovery', that of the ashes of Barnabas and his Matthew gospel,[17] which would have been senseless after the finding of his whole body;[18] or alternatively, *ABarn* was trying to explain away, without any thought of a discovery, the embarrassing fact that no burial-place of Barnabas had as yet been discovered on Cyprus – and indeed there seems to have been, prior to *ABarn*, no tradition that the remains of Barnabas, in any form, were buried on Cyprus.[19]

The sixth-century source which narrates most fully the 'discovery' of Barnabas' entire body, Alexander the Monk's Sancti Barnabae Laudatio (= Laudatio),[20] was composed at the monastery of St Barnabas near Cypriot Salamis. It is an even more determined piece of propaganda on behalf of Cypriot autocephaly, and it reveals indirectly that ABarn's version of Barnabas' death, i.e. that he was burned to ashes, had enjoyed some prior currency: Alexander insists so frequently on the integrity of Barnabas' corpse that he must be countering the earlier story. When telling of Barnabas' martyrdom and burial (539–545),[21] Alexander writes that, even though Barnabas was thrown into a great fire, by divine providence his body remained unharmed, and the fire did not damage it at all (Προνοίᾳ δὲ θεοῦ ἀκέραιον ἔμεινε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀποστόλου καῖ οὐδὲν αὐτὸ ἔβλαψεν ἡ πυρά, 543–545). Next John Mark, here just called 'Mark', is said to have buried Barnabas' body in a cave as per the apostle's anticipatory instructions (545–549, cf. 527–529: "you will find my body", 528). Then, in Alexander's account of the 'discovery' by Bishop Anthemius of Barnabas' body and of his Matthew gospel, there are more statements that his corpse was whole and entire: Anthemius is told by Barnabas in a dream that "my whole body" (μου τὸ πᾶν σῶμα, 750) awaits discovery; and Anthemius later emphasises that he has in his own country an "apostle fully coffined" (ἀποστόλον ὁλόσωρον, 786). Even the encasement of Barnabas' ashes in lead, as related by ABarn, is subtly countered and thus explained away by Laudatio, which tells how a lead seal was placed on Barnabas' coffin after its discovery (768–769). A lead seal appears to be a topos of such discoveries and of their transmission to an Emperor: the

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17 So Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 189–190.

18 Ibid. 184, 189–193, however, argued for a *terminus ante quem* for *ABarn* of 527.

19 On the chronological implications of these matters see esp. Halkin, Actes (as footnote 4 above), 135–136.

20 On this text and its date see Downey, Claim (as footnote 9 above), 227–228 and below § IV.

21 All references to *Laudatio* are to the text of Van Deun, Laudatio (as footnote 5 above).

box which contained the Apocalypse of Paul was similarly sealed with lead and was sent intact to Theodosius.[22]

II. ABarn and Acts

ABarn's principal strategies in its search for the impression of authenticity were to cleave fairly closely at first to *Acts* in terms of content, and to imitate *Acts* stylistically. The protagonists of *ABarn*, Paul, Barnabas and John Mark, are all characters from *Acts*, and much of the first half of *ABarn* shadows the narrative of *Acts* 13 ff. In *Acts* 13.2–5 the Holy Spirit sends Saul (Paul) and Barnabas on a mission from Antioch to Cyprus, and John Mark is their servant in Salamis. Here only a slight but significant difference is visible in *ABarn*'s account: Barnabas is instructed in a vision to make John Mark his companion on this same mission (§ 4), so that his presence and role are divinely authorised. Both texts next treat the trio's visit to Cyprus, but *ABarn*'s account is brief and undetailed in contrast to *Acts*' long and detailed version. It may be that readers of *ABarn* were expected to know the *Acts* version, so that it could be handled expeditiously; or/and the historical author of *ABarn* was concerned to focus on his own brief. *Acts* then describes the evangelism of Paul and Barnabas in the cities of Asia Minor after their return from Cyprus (13.14–14.28), while *ABarn* offers an expansion (§§ 6–10) of the next section of *Acts* (15.36–41), which includes the disagreement between Paul and Barnabas at Antioch over taking John Mark with them. After this in both *Acts* (15.39) and *ABarn* (§ 14) Barnabas and John Mark embark without Paul on their second voyage to Cyprus. Then the two texts diverge, with *Acts* concentrating on Paul and *ABarn* on Barnabas and John Mark. *ABarn* (§§ 14–18) narrates in detail the latter pair's journeys around Cyprus, including their stays in different places, their conversions of various individuals, and their meetings with earlier converts. Next in *ABarn* § 18 and § 19 the prominent Jew Barjesus harasses Barnabas and John Mark at Paphos and Citium, and stirs up hostility to them among Cypriot Jews. When the pair take ship to Salamis, Barjesus follows them and incites the local Jews to seize Barnabas and burn him alive (§ 23). John Mark steals and buries Barnabas' ashes, along with his copy of the Matthew gospel (§ 24), eludes the Jews (§ 25), and sails to Alexandria, where he continues his evangelism (§ 26).

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22 Cf. Dilley, Invention (as footnote 15 above), 595–596.

Despite following *Acts* in many particulars, *ABarn* is out of step or even inconsistent with *Acts* in a number of places.[23] *ABarn* § 2 claims that John Mark was converted and baptised by Paul, Barnabas and Silas at Iconium, whereas *Acts* 12.12 has Peter, freed at an earlier time by angelic intervention from Herod's prison, taking refuge in the house of John Mark's mother, Mary, which implies that John Mark's household was already part of the Christian community.[24] This implication is even more strikingly at odds with another of *ABarn*'s statements, namely that John Mark had formerly been the servant of a high priest of Zeus (§ 2); this could be a reminiscence of the scene at *Acts* 14.135, in which a priest of Zeus in Lycaonia attempts to sacrifice to Barnabas and Paul as Zeus and Hermes. Again, the activities of Barjesus in *ABarn*, which are clearly a doublet of his behaviour in *Acts*, show him as having learned nothing from his experience of being temporarily blinded by Paul in *Acts* (13.11).

Of course we cannot know whether the historical author of *ABarn* was accessing *Acts* from a text, oral performance, or memory; hence involuntary lapses on his part cannot be excluded. However, positive reasons for the discrepancies between *ABarn* and *Acts* can usually be suggested: for example, Barjesus' recidivism may simply reveal his incorrigible obstinacy in wickedness (see also § III and § IV for further suggested reasons for these and some other inconsistencies); and *ABarn*'s treatment of Paul implies that its historical author was not at all reluctant to adapt *Acts* for his own ends. His dilemma was that he was mainly interested in Cyprus, and in Barnabas *qua* native Cypriot (*Acts* 4.36) and 'apostolic' founder of the Cypriot Church. But on the other hand Paul was an essential character in *ABarn*'s narrative, and an essential element in its striving to seem authentic. Paul is therefore first given enhanced prominence in *ABarn* §§ 2–11, the latter part of which is an amplified version of *Acts* 15.35–40, filled out with freshly invented episodes: Paul's weariness (§ 6), tetchiness (§ 6, § 8), and vision (§ 7, § 10), and Barnabas' entreaties to Paul *to go first to Cyprus, and oversee his own in his village* and *that they should go to Cyprus* (§ 7).[25] As in *Acts*

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23 Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 285–286 (cf. also 276–277) discusses the discrepancies between *Acts* and *ABarn*, including these, and attributes some of them to *ABarn*'s use of the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (286).

24 Cf. also *Coloss.* 4.10, where (John) Mark is described as the cousin of Barnabas. In *ABarn* § 2 the Σ group of MSS has "Peter, Barnabas and Paul" in place of "Paul, Barnabas and Silas".

25 Where for readers' convenience I have quoted *ABarn* in translation, I have continued to employ the faithful rendering of A. Walker, The Acts of Barnabas: the journeyings and martyrdom of St. Barnabas the Apostle, in A. Roberts et al. (eds.), Ante-Nicene Fathers VIII. Buffalo NY 1886, 493–496 (with a few small alterations, e. g. 'pagans' for 'Greeks', *hierodoulos*/*oi* retained as such) in preference to the "new translation" in Snyder, Acts (as footnote 2 above).

15.39 – 40, Paul refuses to return with Barnabas to Cyprus because Barnabas wants to take John Mark with him, and they quarrel (*ABarn* § 8). But, before Paul's departure for Jerusalem, *ABarn* features a lengthy reconciliation between him and Barnabas, an event absent from *Acts*, which confirms Barnabas' status as an apostle (§§ 8 – 10). This done, *ABarn* limits its subsequent mentions of Paul (in § 11, § 17, § 18, § 20) to reminiscences.

Apart from its cast of characters and its temporal setting, *ABarn* draws on *Acts* for certain stylistic elements,[26] notably 'itinerary style', featured in *Acts* 14.18 – 28; 21.1 – 9; 27.1 – 8; 28.11 – 15.[27] Itinerary style first appears prominently at *ABarn* § 5: *Thence, therefore, we came to Seleucia, and after staying three days sailed away to Cyprus … And setting sail from Cyprus, we landed in Perga of Pamphylia*. It resumes in § 11: *And having come down to Laodicea, we sought to cross to Cyprus; and having found a ship going to Cyprus, we embarked …And we came to Corasium … And having set sail from Corasium, we came to the regions of Isauria, and thence came to a certain island called Pityusa* (§ 11)… *And thence we sailed past the Aconesiae, and came to the city of Anemurium* (§ 12). Thereafter it is found in *ABarn* §§ 16, 18, 20, 21, 22 and 25. This trope functions as a constant reminder to the readers of *ABarn* that they should believe themselves to be in the world of *Acts*.

III. 'Novelistic' Features of *ABarn*

In its further, more general attempts to create verisimilitude *ABarn* employs a number of techniques also found in ancient novels with the same purpose.[28] One is a higher level of geographical and topographical accuracy than is found in other apocryphal texts. Lipsius noted this,[29] and he detailed the routes taken by Barnabas and John Mark, adding (except for two unidentifiable

26 Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 189.
27 Cf. ibid., 185 – 187.
28 On themes and contexts shared by some apocryphal texts and some ancient novels see, e. g., T. Hägg, The novel in antiquity. Oxford 1983, 154 – 165 (= Ch. VI); R. I. Pervo, Early Christian fiction, in J. R. Morgan / R. Stoneman (eds.), Greek fiction: the Greek novel in context. London / New York 1994, 239 – 254; J. N. Bremmer, The novel and the Apostolic Acts: place, time and readership, in H. Hofmann / M. Zimmerman (eds.), Groningen Colloquia on the novel IX. Groningen 1998, 157 – 180, esp. 163 – 178. Ancient 'biographies' and 'historical' texts also sometimes adopt strategies similar to those described here.
29 Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 288.

locations[30]) modern toponyms.[31] He also remarked on *ABarn*'s coverage of every part of Cyprus, including Lapithus, Tamassus, Curium, Citium, and Salamis. In the fifth century these were episcopal sees;[32] and Lipsius saw this as evidence of the Cypriot ethnicity of the real author of *ABarn*.[33] It has also been argued that fifth-century sees of Cyprus are mentioned in the itineraries of the pair to establish the apostolic origins of the Cypriot dioceses.[34] This is a persuasive argument, and it is supported by *ABarn*'s inclusion of accounts of Barnabas' consecration of the bishop Heracleides/Heracleius (§ 17) and Barnabas' and Paul's episcopal consecration of Aristoclianus (§ 20). The introduction of the former *hierodouloi* Timon, Ariston and Rhodon (§§ 14 ff.) also helped if, as Lipsius proposed, their names reflect Cypriot local traditions.[35] However, not all the fifth-century sees of Cyprus are mentioned in *ABarn*, and places in Cyprus which were not the sites of later sees are also named as route markers.[36] Moreover, *ABarn*'s geographical exactness extends to places outside Cyprus. For example,[37] in § 8 Barnabas and John Mark are in Perga (Pamphylia), and in § 11 they come to Laodicea. The account of their initially unsuccessful attempt to sail to Cyprus (§§ 11–14) also involves a catalogue of the many places which they reach before they eventually manage to land on Cyprus. Irrespective, then, of *ABarn*'s contemporary concern with the independence of the Church of Cyprus from the Patriarchate of Antioch, the parallel geographical accuracy displayed outside Cyprus shows that the main function of this feature is to underpin the itinerary style and to provide further proof of the authenticity of *ABarn*'s account of the doings of Barnabas and John Mark.

Geographical precision sometimes reaches the micro-level in its specification of the locations where events occur. Some of the details supplied may spring from the personal knowledge of the fifth-century author of *ABarn* or his source; but of course he might just have assumed that gates, fountains, caves, and a sheltering tree would be found in any locality. Fountains feature at Corasium (§ 11) and Anemurium (§ 13), the gate of Lapithus at § 16, and the gate of Citium

30 I.e. Lampadistus (§ 16): cf. Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 288 note 12; Limnes (§ 25): cf. Lipsius, ibid. 290 note 2.
31 Lipsius, ibid. 288–290.
32 Cf. also Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 189–291.
33 Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 290.
34 Ibid. 290; Czachesz, ibid. 191.
35 Lipsius, ibid. 286–287.
36 For a "definitive list" of Byzantine Cypriot sees cf. G.F. Hill, A history of Cyprus I: to the conquest by Richard Lion Heart. Cambridge 1940, 262–263.
37 § 5 contains another, briefer, extra-Cypriot itinerary.

at § 21, with the added information that it is *the gate near the aqueduct*. There are caves at Aristoclianus' unnamed village (§ 20), at Salamis, where Barnabas' ashes are buried in one (§ 24), and at Ledra (§ 25). A tree near Curium offers evening shade (§ 19). More precise and hence likely to be based on the author's knowledge is *the synagogue near the place called Biblia* at Salamis (§ 22). *Biblia* has so far defied identification.[38] Certainty cannot be reached, but two possibilities suggest themselves: first, *Biblia* might be a papyrus-bed (i.e. a marshy area in which papyrus grew), although this form is not otherwise attested in that sense;[39] second, *Biblia* might be a bookshop or book-stall (or an area of bookshops/book-stalls), perhaps specializing or part-specializing in Jewish books and hence near the synagogue.[40] At all events *Biblia* is not a commonplace, and hence it points to personal knowledge on the part of the historical author. Such knowledge may again appear in mentions of the hippodromes of Citium (§ 21) and Salamis, especially the latter since it is located more precisely: *having dragged him to the hippodrome from the synagogue, and having gone out of the city* (§ 23).

Yet another device directed at verisimilitude and parallel to *ABarn*'s geographical exactness is its temporal precision. This is not a universal feature: for example in § 5 and § 8 we encounter *many days*, and in § 9 *long*. But most temporal specifications are more precise: *three days* (§ 5), *about two months* (§ 5), *for three Sabbaths* (§ 6), *three days* (§ 11), *by night* (§ 14), *immediately* (§ 15), *the evening* (§ 19), *one day* (§ 20), *one hour* (§ 20), *after two days* (§ 23), *by night* (§ 23), *straightway that night* (§ 23), *in the night* (§ 24), *the fourth hour of the night of the second of the week* (§ 24), *three days* (§ 25), *by night* (§ 25). Such 'information', which has no contemporary or other value, represents *ABarn*'s constant assertion of its authenticity.

The geographical and temporal exactness of *ABarn* is supplemented by other precise and apparently plausible details which are equally superfluous but similarly underpin *ABarn*'s claim to authenticity. In such cases the impression is given that the narrator is re-visualising his experiences, and recollecting more about them. For example when John Mark comes to Antioch early in *ABarn*, he finds Paul *in bed … from the toil of the journey* (§ 6), and he remembers that Barnabas, after he joined them, *tasted bread* (§ 6); and when John Mark eventu-

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38 Cf. Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 188 note 14, who suggests that it is the synagogue itself.

39 But cf. *LSJ s.vv.* βύβλος, βύβλινος.

40 *Biblia* seems not be paralleled as a toponym. I have also considered the notion that *Biblia* was the genizah of the synagogue; however, a genizah was normally a storage area within the synagogue, whereas *ABarn* clearly refers to *Biblia* as a separate location.

ally escapes to Egypt from Cyprus, he does so on *an Egyptian ship* (§ 26). Throw-away phrases refer to *parchments* that John Mark *was keeping in Pamphylia* (§ 6) and recount that at Anemurium *the sailors were able to gain many things* as a result of Barnabas' distribution of money to the poor (§ 13). The slight obscurity of these latter details also insinuates their authenticity. In other cases we are given otiose information about individuals: Timon is *a native* of Lampadistus (§ 16) and Heracleides/Heracleius of Tamassus; and we are told that on this occasion Heracleides/Heracleius *had come <there> to visit his relations* and (a further irrelevance) that Barnabas *recognised him, having met with him formerly at Citium with Paul* (§ 17). Aristoclianus had been a leper and had been *cleansed in Antioch* (§ 20); and refuge was given to Barnabas and John Mark at Amathus by *a certain widow woman, eighty years old* (§ 20). At an earlier point (§ 11), as they are heading for their second mission on Cyprus, we are told that *they came to a certain island called Pityusa; and a storm having come on … a certain pious man entertained us, by name Euphemus*. The island is not identifiable, and the man and his name have no known significance; they are inserted solely for verisimilitude. Finally, a colourful detail specifies the cave where Barnabas' ashes were buried: it was *where the nation of the Jebusites formerly dwelt* (§ 24, see also below).

ABarn's account of Barnabas' martyrdom and its aftermath is accompanied by details equally tailored to create credibility, and some of them are probably also pointers to expectations current at the time when *ABarn* was written. When Barnabas was seized by the Jews of Salamis, they *bound him with a rope by the neck* (§ 23); and, when they had burned him alive, *having taken his dust, they cast it into a cloth; and having secured it with lead, they intended to throw it into the sea* (§ 23). This story, as noted above § I, was probably invented either as a prelude to a planned 'discovery' of Barnabas' remains in ash form, one which was rendered meaningless by the 'discovery' of his entire body in the reign of Zeno,[41] or to explain why he had no burial site on Cyprus. One further element of this episode is particularly revealing: in § 16 we are told that Barnabas had received *documents from Matthew, a book of the word of God, and a narrative of miracles and doctrines*, and that he laid it on the sick to cure them. This obscurely described item[42] is clearly the gospel of Matthew. Then the Matthew gospel appears as such in § 22 without disguise: *Barnabas, having*

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41 For the eventual 'discovery' cf. LIPSIUS, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 291 – 292; HILL, History (as footnote 36 above), 277 – 278; CZACHESZ, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 189 – 190.

42 Ibid. 186 note 7 declares "we do not quite see the point in the complicated identification of Barnabas' book"; for a proposed explanation see below § IV.

unrolled the Gospel which he had received from Matthew his fellow-labourer, began to teach the Jews. The fact that Barnabas unrolls a scroll rather than opening a codex might be another verisimilitudinous detail, since early Christian texts would have been papyrus rolls, whereas by the fifth century they would have been replaced by *codices*. Finally, when John Mark and his companions bury Barnabas' ashes, they do so *with the documents which he had received from Matthew* (§ 24), i.e. the same copy of the Matthew gospel. It could be a sign of a less accomplished forger that, when the entire body of Barnabas was eventually 'discovered' in Zeno's reign, the gospel which accompanied it was a *codex* with wooden leaves.[43] *ABarn*'s author had perhaps projected a similar use for Barnabas' supposed copy of the Matthew gospel – to authenticate a planned 'discovery' of Barnabas' ashes.

Barnabas is an important element of *ABarn*, not just as its central character and its main link to *Acts*, but as the central figure in *ABarn*'s attempt (above § I) to establish the apostolicity of the Church of Cyprus. The function of another character from *Acts* who reappears in *ABarn* is not so clear. This is the Paphian Jew Barjesus or Elymas, who clashed with Paul at *Acts* 13.6 – 11. When Barjesus turns up in *ABarn*, he inhibits Barnabas and John Mark from entering Palaepaphus (§ 18), and follows them to Curium where he arouses *a great multitude of Jews who were there*; these, *having been put up to it by Barjesus, stood outside of the city, and did not allow us to go into the city* (§ 19). Finally Barjesus catches up with Barnabas and John Mark at Salamis, where he again stirs up the Jews, this time to seize, bind and burn Barnabas (§ 23). There are many instances in *Acts* where local Jewish leaders are responsible for frustrating and harming the apostles. But there is more stress on Barjesus in *ABarn* than in *Acts*, and the historical author of *ABarn* may have had personal knowledge of Cypriot Judaism in his own day, particularly if what was suggested about the *Biblia* and synagogue of § 22 is correct. Contemporary anti-Jewish sentiment must therefore be inferred; and in fact anti-Jewish propaganda is very common in Early Christian apocrypha, often with the intent of legitimising violent actions against Jews, including illegal seizures of their synagogues.[44] There was probably a sizable Jewish community on Cyprus in the fifth century AD[45] to serve as a target for *ABarn*'s antisemitism.

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43 Cf. *Laudatio* 813. Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 293 – 297 discussed the gospel and quoted all testimonia; cf. also Hackett, History (as footnote 9 above), 23 – 24; Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 204 and note 62.

44 Cf. Dilley, Invention (as footnote 15 above), 588 – 589 and passim.

45 Cf. the evidence for the third century BC on assembled from literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources by P.W. Van der Horst, The Jews of ancient Cyprus, *Zutot* 3 (2008) 110 – 120 =

Two other individuals mentioned for verisimilitude in § 23, Hypat<i>us, the governor of Salamis,[46] and a pious Jebusite, a kinsman of Nero, are particularly unconvincing in modern eyes, but they too probably helped to convince ABarn's fifth-century readers that they were encountering a first-century text. The Jebusites were a Canaanite tribe defeated by the Jews on their return from Egypt; their original capital, Jerusalem, was eventually captured by King David. Whatever source lies behind their two appearances in ABarn (§§ 23, 24),[47] the author of ABarn was aware of the old enmity between Jebusites and Jews; so his two portrayals of Jebusites, who in both cases are well-disposed to Barnabas, are a continuation of his anti-Jewish polemic. There is a clear implication that the "pious Jebusite" of § 23 would have protected Barnabas from the Jews; that was why they killed Barnabas rather than taking him before the governor, as they had originally planned. In § 24 the ashes of Barnabas are buried in a place where the nation of the Jebusites formerly dwelt, i. e. in a place associated with enemies of the Jews who martyred Barnabas.

Another (repeated) element of *ABarn*'s construction of itself as a text of the first century is its preoccupation with pagan reminiscences.[48] John Mark himself is said to have been *formerly a servant* [*oiketes*] *of Cyrillus, the high priest of Zeus* (§ 2), and various *hierodouloi* who have become Christian converts play secondary but significant roles in the narrative. They are introduced at § 14: *we found Timon and Ariston the hierodouloi*; and § 18: *and there <we> found Rhodon, a hierodoulos*. Czachesz compared the conversion of this group to that of a band of rhetoricians in Alexandria.[49] But it is easier to envisage rhetoricians adopting Christianity as a collective than to suppose that *hierodouloi*, presumably of different pagan deities, would have done so. Nor is it likely that fifth-century Cyprus was full of pagan *hierodouloi*. The Cypriot author of *ABarn* will have been aware of the past existence of *hierodouloi* in Cyprus,[50] and he has selected this specific term as another archaising feature. He has also drawn on folk-memories of pagan life on Cyprus spiced by fantasy. Thus he writes of *an idol festival being celebrated in the theatre* at Lapithus (§ 15); and we hear of *a great multitude of*

idem, Jews and Christians in their Graeco-Roman context: selected essays on early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity. *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*, 196. Tübingen 2006, 28 – 42.

46 The 'name' means 'consul'/'proconsul'!

47 Cf. Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 193 note 27.

48 Cf. Lipsius, Acten (as footnote 2 above), 287 – 288; Czachesz, ibid. 205 – 207.

49 Ibid. 205.

50 Hierodouloi were found in many parts of the ancient world, including Cyprus: cf., e. g., Salamine XIII.27.4; SEG 51.1899.4; *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6 (1950) 48.26.9. They were simply 'temple-servants'.

pagans in the temple in the mountain, low women and men pouring libations at Amathus (§ 20). Presumably the uproar in the hippodrome of Citium (§ 21) refers to another pagan event, and Barnabas and John Mark land at Salamis *in the so-called islands, where there was a place full of idols; and there took place high festivals and libations* (§ 22). The most sensational reference to a pagan event comes, however, at Curium: *we found that a certain abominable race was being performed in the road near the city, where a multitude of women and men naked were performing the race. And there was great deception and error in that place* (§ 19). Barnabas' indignation causes a partial collapse of the area; 'proof' in the form of ruins could be seen there in the author's day.[51] Czachesz speculated that pagan rites may have survived in country areas in fifth-century Cyprus;[52] perhaps so, but *ABarn*'s 'information' about such rites places them in or near towns. *ABarn*'s pagan and indecent rituals function excellently as pseudo-veracity: fifth-century readers will have believed that this was how Cyprus had once been.

IV. The characterisation of John Mark in *Acta Barnabae*

Lipsius' perception, shared by many scholars, that *ABarn* aimed to demonstrate the autocephalous status of the Cypriot Church, was mentioned in § I. I suggest, however, that this was not all that *ABarn* aspired to achieve in the sphere of ecclesiastical politics. A further aim can be deduced from *ABarn*'s characterisation of John Mark, although not from its identification of John Mark as a former *oiketes* ('servant')[53] of a high priest of Zeus, This identification was probably intended to counter silently the information found elsewhere[54] that John Mark had been a temple Levite at Jerusalem before converting to Christianity, and it is simply another indication of the anti-Jewish prejudice of the author of *ABarn*.

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51 For the accuracy of *ABarn*'s references to Curium see K.J. Rigsby, Missing Places, *Classical Philology* 91 (1996) 254–260: 257–260.
52 Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 187 note 12.
53 Ibid. 186 note 7 and *passim* equates *oiketes* and *hierodoulos*, which would place John Mark in the same category as the other three Christian converts in *ABarn* who had been associated with pagan cults. But this equation should be resisted: an *oiketes* was a personal attendant, while a *hierodoulos* was officially connected with a temple. The author of *ABarn* may have wished to dissociate (John) Mark from professional participation in idol-worship.
54 See Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 198 and note 48.

ABarn's characterisation of John Mark involves a deliberate diminishing of his status and importance, something already noted by Czachesz.[55] Its starting-point is John Mark's role as a servant in *Acts* 13.5,[56] on which his description as such in *ABarn* § 2 is based. It is, of course, no surprise to find that Barnabas is the more important figure in a work entitled 'The journeyings and martyrdom of St. Barnabas the Apostle'. But one might have expected that John Mark would be also portrayed honorifically in *ABarn:* after all he is its inscribed author, and world-wide glory is promised to him in a vision at *ABarn* § 3. However, John Mark is downplayed throughout *ABarn*. In his first interaction with Barnabas he has been terrified by a nocturnal vison and he throws himself at Barnabas' feet: *I went to the feet of Barnabas* (§ 4). Then there is *ABarn*'s repeated emphasis on John Mark's role as a servant, initially to Paul and Barnabas during their first visit to Cyprus (§ 4–§ 5) and thereafter at Antioch (§ 6); and when a second visit to Cyprus is in prospect, the theme recurs: *Barnabas urged me also to accompany them, on account of my being their servant from the beginning, and on account of my having served them in all Cyprus until they came to Perga of Pamphylia* (§ 8). At an earlier point (§ 6) John Mark is treated as a rank inferior by Paul and is slighted by him; John Mark then (unsuccessfully) goes to humiliating lengths to win Paul over: *I gave repentance on my knees upon the earth to Paul, and he would not endure it. And when I remained for three Sabbaths in entreaty and prayer on my knees, I was unable to prevail upon him about myself.*[57]

Another possible aspect of *ABarn*'s downgrading of John Mark should also be mentioned, although it cannot be pressed: the author of *ABarn* perhaps knew that others had identified John Mark with the Evangelist Mark, but chose not to stress this honorific aspect of his career. Two features of *ABarn* seem to hint at a link between John Mark and the Second Gospel: in § 3 John Mark is promised world-wide fame in the words ἡ δόξα σου ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ κηρυχθήσεται, where the verb may recall that multivalent patristic term, *kerygma*. One might wonder what else could give John Mark such a reputation besides the Gospel of Mark. Again, *ABarn*'s heavy three-fold emphasis on Matthew's Gospel (§§ 16; 22; 24, cf. above § III) arouses the suspicion that *ABarn* is doing this to over-shadow John Mark in the mind of any reader who might think to identify him with the Evangelist. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that the Second Gospel

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55 Ibid. 203–205.
56 On his subordination in *Acts* see C.C. Black, Mark: Images of an Apostolic interpreter. Columbia 1994, 30–33; on "patristic concerns" about Mark's Gospel and personality see ibid. 186–187.
57 Barnabas too falls at Paul's feet and weeps, but for different reasons (§ 9).

itself offers no information about its author,[58] and that no New Testament text assigns to the John Mark of *Acts* etc. the role of Evangelist. Some early sources did, it seems, attribute a gospel to a 'Mark':[59] according to Eusebius, Papias and Clement of Alexandria did so. Irenaeus certainly wrote of a gospel of Mark, and since he quoted *Mark* 1.1–2 in context, he must have meant the Second Gospel. Later sources which attribute the Second Gospel to a 'Mark' are the anti-Marcionite prologue to Mark's Gospel (of disputed date) and the fourth-century(?) Monarchian prologue to it; the latter text makes a further identification – between its Evangelist Mark and Mark, the first Bishop of Alexandria.[60] Eusebius also makes Mark the Evangelist the founder of churches in Alexandria,[61] as do Epiphanius, Jerome and Chrysostom.[62] However, no source before the sixth century explicitly identifies the Mark to whom the Second Gospel was attributed with the John Mark who accompanied Paul and Barnabas on their mission to Cyprus in *Acts*;[63] and in most sources up to the fourth century the Evangelist Mark is associated with Peter, not Paul, he is frequently located in Rome, and some sources seem unaware of a link between him and Alexandria.[64] The identification of John Mark with the Evangelist is first made explicit in Alexander the Monk's mid-sixth century *Laudatio:* ἐκεῖ συνέταξε τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν ἱστορίαν (560).[65] So, although the possibility that *ABarn*'s historical author knew of this identification before 488, but suppressed it, should be raised, it remains only a possibility.

On the other hand, there is clear proof of *ABarn*'s determination to deny John Mark honour in its final section, in which John Mark lands at Alexandria (§ 26). One might with reason have anticipated that John Mark might somehow have been linked here, even minimally, with the first Patriarch of Alexandria. But

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58 Cf. Black, Mark (as footnote 56 above), 4–7.
59 For what follows see ibid. 77–135 (Chh. 3–4), who provides texts, details and references.
60 I leave out of account the Mar Saba 'Epistle of Clement' since its authenticity is disputed: see Black, ibid. 139–145, who seems disposed to accept it as genuine.
61 Ibid. 157–161.
62 Ibid. 161–171.
63 On the chronology of the identifications of (John) Mark with the Evangelist and with the Bishop of Alexandria see J. E. Bruns, John Mark: a riddle within the Johannine enigma. *Scripture* 15 (1963) 88–92; Morini, Apostolicità (as footnote 8 above), 31–32 note 19.
64 Cf. Black, Mark (as footnote 56 above), 137–149, 183–191, 238.
65 On the date of *Laudatio* cf. above note 5 – but see also Starowieyski, Légende (as footnote 5 above), 142 (referring to Lipsius): "la date de composition la plus probable est le milieu du VI[e] s."; Van Deun, Laudatio (as footnote 5 above), 16–21 argues convincingly for 532–554 as its date range, and also for the probability that *Laudatio* was in fact written around the middle of the sixth century; on Alexander and *Laudatio* see further above § I and below.

this does not happen and indeed John Mark's prophesied future glory is absent from the end of *ABarn*; he is still represented as being in Alexandria a humble subordinate of the apostles: *there I remained, teaching the brethren that came the word of the Lord, enlightening them, and preaching what I had been taught by the apostles of Christ, who also baptized me into the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost; who also changed my name to Mark in the water of baptism*. Czachesz opined that John Mark is downgraded because "the legendary material about John Mark was used to fill up the thin tradition about Barnabas", and he offered several arguments to support his view.[66] But this cannot be the full story: *ABarn*'s author was inventive enough to overcome any dearth of material, and a link between John Mark and the Alexandrian Patriarchate could have been added to § 26 with no difficulty and without detracting from or overlapping with *ABarn*'s natural desire to give precedence to its Barnabas narrative.

I propose, therefore, that a larger fifth-century dispute within the Eastern Church may explain John Mark's downgrading in *ABarn*, and in particular *ABarn*'s silence about any association of John Mark with an episcopal and patriarchal role in Alexandria. As noted, *ABarn*'s primary aim was to forward the desire of the Cypriot Church to be recognised as autocephalous and so free of the claims of the Antiochene Patriarchate. A second related aim may be conjectured. The Patriarch who reigned (with intermissions) at Antioch from 474 to 491 was Peter the Fuller, a Monophysite.[67] There is no evidence that his views were shared by the Church of Cyprus. A similar situation obtained in the Patriarchate of Alexandria over roughly the same time period: from 457 to 477 the Alexandrian Patriarch was the Monophysite Timothy II Aelurus. Officially he was replaced over the years 460 – 475 by an Orthodox Chalcedonian, but his followers continued to recognise him as head of the Church of Alexandria. Timothy's successor was another Monophysite, Peter III Mongus, who reigned until 490. He too was replaced by one Chalcedonian after another from 477 to 482, but during these intermissions his own supporters again continued to recognise him as Patriarch. I propose that the antipathy of the Cypriot Church to the Antiochene Patriarchate encompassed its Monophysitism – for it was Peter the Fuller who had revived Antioch's claim to jurisdiction over the Cypriot Church – and that this led the author of *ABarn*, with his fierce Orthodox Cypriot nationalism, to extend his dislike of Monophysite Antioch to Monophysite Alexandria. But he was obliged to

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66 Czachesz, Commission narratives (as footnote 1 above), 204 – 205.

67 Cf. Hackett, History (as footnote 9 above), 23; for the facts adduced in this paragraph see also Frend, Rise (as footnote 11 above), 143 – 183 (= Ch. 4); Hill, History (as footnote 36 above), 276 – 279.

temper his prejudice with discretion. The emperor Zeno, whose consent ultimately proved vital to the Cypriot Church's successful assertion of its independence, was in general sympathetic to the Monophysites; and he was the author of the *Henoticon*, a doctrinal statement intended to reconcile Orthodox and Monophysites, which was acceptable to some Monophysites but unacceptable to all Chalcedonians.[68] Zeno was also at different times a supporter of both Monophysite Patriarchs, Peter the Fuller and Peter III Mongus. The historical author of *ABarn* therefore degrades John Mark, even though – or especially because – he knows of the tradition that took him to be the founder of the Alexandrian Patriarchate. He does this not by attacking John Mark or his achievements – which would of course also have called into question Barnabas' choice of him as a servant – but by subtly undermining John Mark's status in the ways described, and notably by failing to make anything much of his achievements in his life after Barnabas, and thus drawing a veil of silence over any possible link between him and the founding Patriarch of Alexandria.

The attitude to John Mark of Alexander the Monk's *Laudatio* is worth comparing with that of *ABarn.*[69] In *Laudatio* John Mark remains a servant of Barnabas (398), as indeed he is subordinate to Paul and Peter; John Mark is also said to have been cowardly in withdrawing from one of the apostles' missionary journeys, and to have been ashamed of this; and he falls at Barnabas' feet to beg forgiveness (405 – 429). Moreover, John Mark's activities in Alexandria are, as in *ABarn*, related in low-key terms: nine years of preaching, martyrdom and burial (567 – 569). Alexander does, as noted, identify John Mark with the Evangelist Mark, but he makes it clear that the Second Gospel was written in Rome, not Alexandria, and under Peter's supervision (360 – 561). Only at one point does John Mark emerge as a potentially great figure – when his glorious future as "a shepherd and teacher of many peoples and nations" is predicted, albeit in vague terms (447 – 448). Throughout the years within which Alexander's work can be dated (532 – 554),[70] the majority of the population of Alexandria remained Monophysite, and this may have inhibited the Orthodox Alexander from boosting the see of Alexandria and its founder. On the other hand, if Alexander's depiction of John Mark as the Evangelist does represent an advance in warmth upon *ABarn*, one of two political factors might explain it; from 532 to 554 Justi-

68 On the *Henoticon* see Frend, Rise (as footnote 11 above), 143 – 183 (= Ch. 4) esp. 174 – 183.
69 It seems clear from the comparison that Alexander either knew *ABarn* in some form, or was acquainted with a similar text; cf. also above § I on Alexander's countering of the story of Barnabas being burned to ashes, which were encased in lead, and Starowieyski, Légende (as footnote 5 above), 140.
70 See above note 65.

nian made numerous attempts to reconcile Chalcedonians and Monophysites;[71] and, when these failed to work at Alexandria, from 537 on Justinian imposed Chalcedonians as (Orthodox) Patriarchs.[72]

Conclusions

§ I of this paper set out the consensus of scholarship about the major aim of the historical author of *ABarn* (an aim later supplemented by *Laudatio*), namely to establish the autocephaly of the Cypriot Church by endowing it with an apostolic founder – Barnabas, establisher of its episcopate, and martyr on its soil – and to do so in a text which asserted its authenticity and authority by partially modelling itself on *Acts* and by affecting to be a work contemporary with *Acts* composed by John Mark. Next § II explored the ways in which *ABarn* concords with and departs from the narrative of *Acts*, and in the process foregrounds Barnabas over Paul, and promotes Cyprus to a central position in the evangelistic mission of early Christianity. An important aspect of *ABarn*'s self-assimilation to *Acts* and its striving for verisimilitude is its constant use of 'itinerary style'. § III then examined further, 'novelistic' strategies employed by *ABarn*, again to achieve verisimilitude: geographical and topographical accuracy, temporal precision, the insertion of copious verificatory details, and (not all felicitous) Jewish and pagan 'reminiscences'. Often these strategies draw on topoi, but in some cases they arguably reflect the personal knowledge and experience of the (plausibly Cypriot) historical author of *ABarn*. The final section (§ IV) reflected on the odd down-grading by *ABarn* of its own inscribed author, John Mark. Despite one or two more flattering remarks about him, John Mark is constantly described as a 'servant' and represented in humiliating circumstances, while his potentially prestigious associations, especially with Alexandria, appear to be deliberately excluded. It was suggested that this phenomenon reflects the antipathy of the (Orthodox) Cypriot Church, not only to the territorial pretensions of the (Monophysite) Antiochene Patriarchate, but also to the Alexandrian Patriarchate, which at the time of *ABarn*'s composition was Monophysite too.

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71 For Justinian's religious policies throughout his reign see Frend, Rise (as footnote 11 above), 255–295 (= Ch. 7) A. Sarantis, Justinian's Balkan wars: campaigning, diplomacy and development in Illyricum, Thrace and the Northern World A.D. 527–65. *ARCA*, 53. Prenton 2016, 326–327.

72 Frend, Rise (as footnote 11 above), 274–275, 293.

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Graecia est professa discordiam. Teoderico, Anastasio e la battaglia di Horreum Margi

Abstract: Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Ennodius and Marcellinus Comes offer quite different accounts of the battle between Ostrogoths and imperial troops which took place at Horreum Margi in 505. A careful study of these sources indicates that Theoderic and Anastasius were uneasy when mentioning the respective allies and that they both tried to hide the other's involvement in the conflict. Ennodius' mention of *discordia* is very important to understand both the causes and the consequences of Horreum Margi. In fact, Anastasius attacked an ally of Theoderic in order to show that the king was not willing to come to the rescue of his *foederati*. The Ostrogothic quick reaction led to an unforeseen conflict and opened a period of tense relations between Ravenna and Constantinople, whose end, a few years later, was sealed by Cassiodorus' first letter, a document centered on the concept of *concordia*.

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All'inizio del VI secolo i Balcani erano una regione strategica sia per Ravenna sia per Costantinopoli. La città di Sirmium, l'odierna Sremska Mitrovica, rivestiva una particolare importanza, dato che controllava le vie di comunicazione che conducevano verso Occidente,[1] perciò l'occupazione ostrogota di questa piazzaforte e, soprattutto, la successiva battaglia di Horreum Margi, solitamente considerate episodi marginali nell'ambito delle relazioni tra Teoderico e Anastasio, meritano di essere riesaminate in modo più dettagliato, al fine di chiarire

Questo articolo deriva da un seminario svoltosi presso la Scuola Normale Superiore nell'ambito dell'insegnamento di Storia Romana. Ringrazio il professor Andrea Giardina e il dottor Fabrizio Oppedisano per i preziosi consigli che mi hanno dato e i due anonimi referee per le loro osservazioni. Naturalmente la responsabilità per ogni imperfezione rimasta è solo mia.

1 Sui Balcani nel VI secolo, cfr. A. Sarantis, Military encounters and diplomatic affairs in the north Balkans during the reigns of Anastasius and Justinian, in A. Sarantis / N. Christie (eds.), War and warfare in late antiquity. Leiden/Boston 2013, 759–808; A. Sarantis, Justinian's Balkan wars. Campaigning, diplomacy and development in Illyricum,Thrace and the Northern World. A.D. 527–65. Prenton 2016.

quali fossero gli obiettivi politici di entrambi i sovrani durante il biennio 504/505.

L'occupazione ostrogota di Sirmium

Nell'inverno 488/489 Teoderico attraversò i Balcani per recarsi in Italia, ma i Gepidi, che controllavano Sirmium, gli sbarrarono la strada e lo costrinsero a ingaggiare un'aspra battaglia sul fiume Ulca. Nonostante la vittoria, l'Amalo rinunciò a occupare la città, in quanto non poteva disperdere le sue truppe, e proseguì verso le Alpi, lasciando dietro di sé i Gepidi, sconfitti ma non sottomessi.[2] Burns osserva che negli anni seguenti «Goths and Gepids remained far from peaceful coexistence in the Sirmium area».[3] È un'opinione condivisibile, anche se le fonti sono assai vaghe sulle loro relazioni dopo la battaglia del fiume Ulca.[4] Alcune campagne di scavo hanno rivelato tracce di insediamenti riconducibili agli Ostrogoti lungo la Sava, ma è impossibile stabilire una datazione precisa.[5]

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2 Iord. *Get.* 292 (Iordanes, *Getica*, ed. A. Grillone. Paris 2017); Ennod. *Pan.* 28–34 (C. Rohr, Der Theoderich-Panegyricus des Ennodius. Hannover 1995). Frank Wozniak ipotizza che i Gepidi fossero *foederati* dei Goti, cfr. F.E. Wozniak, East Rome, Ravenna and western Illyricum: 454–536 A.D. *Historia* 30 (1981) 351–382, 369: «While probably federates of the Ostrogoths, the Gepids were former enemies of the Ostrogoths and long–time friends if not allies of Constantinople». Walter Pohl similmente postula che Traserico regnasse «unter gotischen Oberherrschaft», cfr. W. Pohl, Gepiden, in H. Jankuhn/H. Beck et alii (eds.), Reallexicon der germanischen Altertumskunde 11. Berlin/New York 1998, 135. Tali congetture non sono confermate dalle fonti, che non attestano una sottomissione formale o effettiva dei Gepidi ai Goti. È invece vero che dopo la guerra di Sirmium i Gepidi entrarono nelle fila dell'esercito goto, come testimoniato da Cassiod. *Var.* 5.10–11 (Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore, *Varie*, a cura di A. Giardina / G.A. Cecconi / I. Tantillo, con la collaborazione di F. Oppedisano, vol. 2. Roma 2014).

3 T. Burns, A history of the Ostrogoths. Bloomington/Indianapolis 1984, 190.

4 Ennod. *Pan.* 60 sostiene che i Gepidi si fossero resi protagonisti di *cottidiana insultatio et inconposita legationum frequentia*. Non è ben chiaro a che cosa alluda il vescovo di Pavia; forse c'erano stati incidenti di confine giustificati in modo poco convincente da legazioni gepidiche, ma è altrettanto probabile che le parole di Ennodio siano solo una *Propagandamanöver* per giustificare l'aggressione teodericiana, cfr. W. Pohl, Gepiden und *gentes* an der mittleren Donau nach der Zerfall des Attilareiches, in H. Wolfram / F. Daim (eds.), Die Völker an den mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert. Wien 1980, 239–305, 294. Sulle ambascerie dei Gepidi, cfr. J. Prostko–Prostyński, *Utraeque res publicae:* The Emperor Anastasius I's Gothic policy (491–518). Poznań 1994, 221–222.

5 Burns, History (come sopra nota 3) 192. Cfr. anche Wozniak, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 367–368.

I Gepidi, dopo la disfatta subita, si riorganizzarono rapidamente e a Sirmium si stabilì Traserico, figlio di Trapstila, il sovrano che era stato ucciso da Teoderico nel 488/489. Sembra che i Gepidi insediati attorno alla città costituissero un'entità politica separata rispetto a quelli stanziati lungo il Tibisco, che avevano come loro re un certo Gunderith, tuttavia poco prima del 504 si profilò un'alleanza tra i due gruppi. Lo riferisce Ennodio nel *Panegyricus: Urebant animum principis dolosi blandimenta conmenti et circa alios Gepidas, quorum ductor est Gunderith, intempestiva Traserici familiaritas* («Facevano ardere d'ira l'animo del principe i blandimenti di una finzione dolosa e, riguardo agli altri Gepidi, di cui Gunderith è condottiero, l'intempestiva alleanza con Traserico»).[6] Un forte regno unitario avrebbe costituito un serio pericolo per i Goti, così l'Amalo decise di lanciare un attacco preventivo.[7]

In realtà le principali motivazioni di Teoderico sono da cercarsi altrove.[8] Per arrivare in Italia egli aveva seguito la strada romana che passava per Sirmium e sapeva che in futuro un esercito imperiale (o un altro popolo germanico al servizio dell'Impero) avrebbe potuto fare altrettanto.[9] Per garantire la sicurezza

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6 Ennod. *Pan*. 61 (traduzione: Magno Felice Ennodio, *Panegirico del clementissimo re Teoderico*, a cura di S. Rota. Roma 2002, 213).

7 Cfr. H. Wolfram, Storia dei Goti, trad. M. Cesa. Roma 1985, 553; H. Last, Die Außenpolitik Theoderichs des Großen. Norderstedt 2013, 257 – 259; H.U. Wiemer, Theoderich der Große König der Goten – Herrscher der Römer. Eine Biographie. München 2018, 346 – 350. Sull'esercito goto, cfr. da ultimo G. Halsall, The Ostrogothic Military, in J.J. Arnold / M.S. Bjornlie / K. Sessa (eds.), A Companion to Ostrogothic Italy. Leiden/Boston 2016, 173 – 199.

8 Oltre a quelle elencate di seguito, va ricordata una congettura di Thomas Hodgkin: «Traustila's son, Trasaric, had asked for Theodoric's help against a rival claimant to the throne, and had, perhaps, promised to hand over possession of Sirmium in return for that assistance. Theodoric […] gave the desired help, but failed to receive the promised recompense» (T. Hodgkin, Theoderic the Goth. London/New York 1891, 213 – 214). Si tratta di una ricostruzione abbastanza fantasiosa, liberamente tratta da Ennod. *Pan*. 60 – 61. È assai improbabile che Traserico avesse chiesto l'aiuto di chi aveva ucciso suo padre; inoltre una simile circostanza sarebbe stata menzionata in modo esplicito da Ennodio, in quanto avrebbe costituito un incontrovertibile *casus belli*.

9 L.M. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter. Leipzig 1897 (rist. Hildesheim 1969), I 151, cita «die Möglichkeit, dass ein Kaiser es versuchte, dem Ostgothen aus der Menge jener stets kriegslustigen Barbaren einen Nachfolger zu schicken, der es unternehmen mochte, Theoderich das gleiche Schicksal zu bereiten, das dieser dem Odovakar bereitet hatte». Cfr. H. Herrera Cajas, Las relaciones internacionales del Imperio Bizantino durante la epoca de las grandes invasiones. Santiago 1972, 177; Wozniak, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 368; F. Lotter, Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum zwischen Antike und Mittelalter (375 – 600). Berlin/New York 2003, 127; F.K. Haarer, Anastasius I: Politics and empire in the late Roman world. Cambridge 2006, 92; Sarantis, Military encounters (come sopra nota 1) 765 – 766.

della Penisola era imperativo controllare Sirmium e il 504 rappresentava un momento quantomai opportuno, dato che l'Impero era impegnato a combattere i Persiani.[10] Con questa mossa, tuttavia, i Goti si avvicinarono nuovamente a Costantinopoli, il che non poteva lasciare Anastasio indifferente.[11]

Inoltre, sebbene la *Pannonia Sirmiensis* nel 437 fosse stata ceduta a Teodosio II, imperatore d'Oriente, da Valentiniano III, imperatore d'Occidente, e quindi ricadesse sotto la giurisdizione di Bisanzio,[12] essa era ancora percepita come appartenente alla *pars Occidentis* e la sua riconquista sarebbe stata accolta con favore dall'aristocrazia senatoria occidentale.[13] Impadronirsi di Sirmium era importante anche dal punto di vista simbolico. L'antica città era stata una della capitali dell'Impero Romano ed entrarne in possesso avrebbe rafforzato l'*imitatio Imperii* perseguita da Teoderico durante tutto il suo regno.[14]

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10 J. MOORHEAD, Theoderic in Italy. Oxford 1992, 174: «Theoderic's expedition should be seen as an attempt to strengthen his kingdom at a time when the imperial armies were fighting the Persians». Cfr. anche HAARER, Anastasius I (come sopra nota 9) 92; M. MEIER, Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches. Stuttgart 2009, 223: «Es war sicherlich kein Zufall, dass der Ostgote Theoderich ausgerechnet die angespannte Situation während des römisch–persischen Kräftemessens wählte, um seinerseits einen Handstreich auf die Provinz Pannonía II durchzuführen und dabei insbesondere deren an der Save gelegenes Zentrum Sirmium (h. Sremska Mitrovica) zu annektieren». Sulla guerra persiana del 502–505, cfr. l'ottimo lavoro di G. GREATREX, Rome and Persia at war, 502–535. Leeds 1998, 73–119.

11 Sirmium e i territori circostanti erano strategici anche per l'Impero, come ricorda B. CROKE, Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle. Oxford 2001, 48–56.

12 Come faceva notare già A. GAUDENZI, Sui rapporti tra l'Italia e l'Impero d'Oriente tra gli anni 476 e 554 d.C. Bologna 1889, 43–45; cfr. anche WOZNIAK, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 355. L'accordo del 437, tuttavia, lascia spazio a differenti interpretazioni, cfr. PROSTKO–PROSTYŃSKI, *Utraeque res publicae* (come sopra nota 4) 215–220, spec. 217: «The matter of the division of Illyricum in 437 is very controversial and intricate».

13 WOZNIAK, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 365: «The area could be seen as naturally falling to the Ostrogoths as part of the spoils of their destruction of Odovacer. Such a perspective would have been particularly popular with the chauvinistic West Roman aristocracy whose opinions and support were vital to Theoderic's plans in the West». Cfr. quanto Ennodio scrive dopo aver narrato la vittoria dei Goti: *interea ad limitem suum Romana regna remearunt* (Ennod. *Pan*. 69).

14 Per l'*imitatio Imperii* teodericiana, cfr. J.J. ARNOLD, Theoderic and the Roman imperial restoration. Cambridge 2014, che però a p. 272 definisce la guerra di Sirmium «fratricidal», pensando evidentemente più allo scontro con Sabiniano che non alla vittoria sui Gepidi. Cfr. anche M. REYDELLET, La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville. Rome 1981, 171: «Le geste avait incontestablement une portée impériale: Théodoric cherchait à rassembler autour de son royaume les terres de l'ancien Empire d'Occident», e C. ROHR, Ennodio panegirista di Teoderico e il conflitto tra Ostrogoti e Franchi, in F. Gasti (ed.), Atti della prima Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 29–30 marzo 2000). Pisa 2001, 21–29: 22–24, secondo il quale la campagna balcanica di Teoderico fu motivata anche dal desiderio di mostrarsi un degno erede della tradizione imperiale romana.

La conquista della città fu affidata a Herduic[15] e al *comes* Pizia[16], che occuparono Sirmium e catturarono la madre di Traserico, il quale invece riuscì a fuggire. I Goti sgominarono con facilità i loro avversari, tanto che le fonti non menzionano scontri armati degni di rilievo. A quel punto, però, sorse un imprevisto.

La battaglia di Horreum Margi nelle fonti del VI secolo

Nel VI secolo la regione danubiana era frequentemente turbata da incursioni barbariche e vi imperversavano bande di briganti. Una di queste era capeggiata da Mundo, nipote di Trapstila, il re dei Gepidi che si erano opposti a Teoderico nel 488. All'epoca l'Amalo aveva risparmiato il giovane, che poco tempo dopo era stato costretto a lasciare il suo popolo a causa di un conflitto dinastico e si era messo a capo di una banda di predoni, che conducevano periodiche scorrerie.[17]

Le fonti non chiariscono i suoi rapporti con Teoderico al momento della guerra di Sirmium,[18] ma è plausibile che il re dei Goti si fosse servito di Mundo come alleato, dal momento che il brigante gepida di certo non avrebbe esitato a marciare contro coloro che l'avevano costretto all'esilio.[19] I suoi saccheggi, però, avevano infastidito l'Impero a tal punto che nel 505 fu mandato contro di lui un

15 *PLRE* 2, 545 – 546; P. AMORY, People and identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489 – 554. Cambridge 1997, 386.
16 *PLRE* 2, 886 – 887; AMORY, People (come sopra nota 15) 406 – 407.
17 Su Mundo, cfr. l'ottimo articolo di B. CROKE, Mundo the Gepid: from freebooter to Roman general. *Chiron* 12 (1982) 125 – 135. Cfr. anche AMORY, People (come sopra nota 15) 397 – 399.
18 Gli unici vaghi indizi al riguardo sono offerti da Io. Mal. *Chron.* 18.46 (Ioannis Malalae Chronographia, ed. I. THURN. *CFHB*, 35. Berlin / New York 2000). Il cronachista bizantino narra che Mundo viveva a Sirmium presso lo zio, ma fu convinto da Teoderico ad andare in Italia, dove combatté al suo fianco. A un certo punto tornò nella regione danubiana e passò al servizio di Giustiniano. Questa testimonianza è troppo vaga e imprecisa per offrire dati certi. Cfr. comunque G. ZECCHINI, La politica dell'impero d'oriente nei Balcani dal 453 al 518, in U. Roberto/L. Mecella (eds.), Governare e riformare l'impero al momento della sua divisione: Oriente, Occidente, Illirico. Roma 2016, 309 – 324: 321, che ritiene che «Mundo dopo l'Ulca aveva seguito Teoderico in Italia».
19 WOZNIAK, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 371, ipotizza che Teoderico e Mundo si fossero alleati solo dopo la presa di Sirmium, ma è plausibile che i due avessero stretto un accordo in precedenza, in modo da facilitare la campagna militare ostrogota.

reparto di *foederati* bulgari guidato dal generale Sabiniano.[20] Mundo chiese aiuto a Pizia e questi intervenne subito. Ad Horreum Margi,[21] un villaggio collocato sulla strada tra Naissus e Viminacium, ci fu una cruenta battaglia, che le fonti descrivono in modo assai diverso.[22] Tali discrepanze non sono da ricondurre semplicemente alla maggiore o minore conoscenza dei fatti posseduta dai singoli autori, bensì a precise strategie ideologiche, che, come si cercherà di mostrare, li portarono a tacere, alterare o amplificare dei particolari significativi.

Cassiodoro, nei *Chronica*, data la battaglia al 504 (anno del consolato di Rufio Petronio Nicomaco Cetego) e scrive: *Hoc cons. virtute dn. regis Theoderici victis Vulgaribus Sirmium recepit Italia* («Sotto a questo console, grazie al valore di re Teoderico, vinti i Bulgari, l'Italia riprese Sirmium»).[23]

Sia l'Impero sia Sabiniano sono passati sotto silenzio: si citano solamente i Bulgari e la riconquista di Sirmium.[24] È evidente che Cassiodoro vuole evitare la menzione di una guerra con Costantinopoli, perciò è più opportuno presentare gli avversari come dei Bulgari, barbari contro i quali Teoderico aveva combattuto in gioventù.[25] L'errore di data, poi, è difficile da giustificare. Cassiodoro era

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20 *PLRE* 2, 967 – 968 (Sabinianus 5).

21 Nella Moesia I, è l'odierna Cuprija, in Serbia. Su Horreum Margi, cfr. W. SMITH (ed.), Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. Boston 1854, I 1091, dove vengono elencate le fonti che menzionano il toponimo. Per un breve commento sulla strada romana che attraversa Horreum Margi, cfr. F.G. FODOREAN, Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia in the ancient geographical sources. Stuttgart 2016, 124. Per l'identificazione con Cuprija, cfr. W. ENSSLIN, Theoderich der Große. München 1947, 135.

22 Lo scontro è riassunto da E. STEIN, Historie du Bas-Empire, trad. J.R. PALANQUE. Paris 1949, II 145 – 146; WOZNIAK, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 372 – 373; BURNS, History (come sopra nota 3) 194 – 195; WOLFRAM, Storia dei Goti (come sopra nota 7) 554; R.C. BLOCKLEY, East Roman foreign policy. Formation and conduct from Diocletian to Anastasius. Leeds 1992, 94; D.R. BRADLEY, *In Altum Laxare Vela Compulsus:* The 'Getica' of Jordanes. *Hermes* 121 (1993) 211 – 236: 218 – 219; CROKE, Count Marcellinus (come sopra nota 11) 67 – 68; MEIER, Anastasios I (come sopra nota 10) 223 – 226.

23 Cassiod. *Chron.* a. 504 (Cassiodori Senatoris *Chronica ad a. DXIX*, ed. TH. MOMMSEN. Berolini 1894, *MGH*, *AA* 11). Cfr. anche M. KLAASSEN, Cassiodorus' *Chronica:* Text, chronography and sources [Diss.]. Philadelphia 2010, 108, che riporta un testo sostanzialmente identico a quello di Mommsen.

24 Cfr. MOORHEAD, Theoderic in Italy (come sopra nota 10) 175; MEIER, Anastasios I (come sopra nota 10) 235.

25 Cfr. GAUDENZI, Sui rapporti (come sopra nota 12) 46. Sui Bulgari e Teoderico, cfr. Ennod. *Pan.* 19: *Stat ante oculos meos Vulgarum ductor libertatem dextera tua adserente prostratus, nec extinctus, ne periret monumentis, nec intactus, ne viveret adrogantiae.* Cfr. anche D. ZIEMANN, Vom Wandervolk zur Großmacht. Die Entstehung Bulgariens im frühen Mittelalter (7.– 9. Jahrhundert). Köln/Weimar/Wien 2007, 44 – 50, che ipotizza la presenza di contingenti bulgari a fianco dei Gepidi che difendevano Sirmium.

sicuramente in grado di ricordare l'esatta cronologia mentre scriveva i *Chronica*, appena quindici anni dopo la presa di Sirmium. La scelta di collocare questo evento e la sconfitta dei Bulgari (i Gepidi, per inciso, non sononemmeno menzionati) nello stesso anno lascia pensare che il *magister officiorum* avesse tentato di nascondere un episodio spiacevole semplificando il corso degli eventi. Infatti, se avesse scritto *victis Gepidis et Vulgaribus Sirmium recepit Italia*, qualcuno avrebbe potuto chiedersi quale dei due popoli avesse tenuto la città e, di conseguenza, perché fosse stato necessario combattere anche contro l'altro. La formulazione cassiodorea permette di evitare questi interrogativi e occulta al lettore il fatto che avvenne uno scontro con le truppe imperiali.[26]

La testimonianza di Giordane è assai diversa:

> *Indeque* [sc. Pitza] *contra Sabinianum, Illyricum magistrum militum, qui tunc cum Mundone paraverat conflictum, ad civitatem cognomine Margoplanum quae inter Danubium Margumque flumina adiacebat, cum duobus milibus ergo peditum equitibusque quingentis, in Mundonis solacia veniens Illyricianum exercitum demolivit.* […] *Hunc ergo pene desperatum et iam de traditione sua deliberantem, Pitza subveniens e manibus Sabiniani eripuit, suoque regi Theoderico cum gratiarum actione fecit subiectum.*
>
> Da lì [*sc.* Pizia] andò contro Sabiniano, *magister militum* dell'Illirico che allora era in procinto di attaccare Mundo, nella città chiamata Margoplanum, posta tra i fiumi Danubio e Margo, in soccorso di Mundo con duemila fanti e cinquecento cavalieri e distrusse l'esercito dell'Illirico. […] Pizia giunse in aiuto di Mundo, che era quasi senza speranza e ormai pensava alla resa, lo strappò dalle mani di Sabiniano e lo fece diventare un suddito riconoscente del suo re Teoderico.[27]

Lo storico goto compose la sua opera epitomando la perduta *Gothorum Historia* di Cassiodoro, ma si servì anche di altre fonti, perciò la sua narrazione della

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26 Cfr. J. Moorhead, Cassiodorus on the Goths in Ostrogothic Italy. *Romanobarbarica* 16 (1999) 241 – 259: 257: «It is clear that Cassiodorus consciously manipulated his sources with a view to overstating the role and successes of the Goths and their positive relations with Rome». Anche in occasione dell'attacco imperiale in Puglia (508) Cassiodoro descrive i danni causati dall'incursione senza mai specificare l'identità dei nemici, cfr. Cassiod. *Var.* 1.16, 2.38.

27 Iord. *Get*. 300 – 301. Cfr. anche Iord. *Rom.* 356 (ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH*, *AA* 5.1): *Variis namque sub Anastasio milis proeliis fatigatus et nunc Illyrico cum Saviniano et Mundone ad Margum […] concertans, frustratus est.* L'espressione *cum gratiarum actione* (*Get*. 301) non è scevra da ambiguità, ma sembra preferibile la resa adottata da Ch.Ch. Mierow, The Gothic History of Jordanes in English version with an introduction and a commentary. Princeton 1915, 138: Pizia «[…] made him a grateful subject of his king Theodoric»); condivisibile il commento di Grillone (come sopra nota 2, 417, nota 741: «*cum … actione* è espressione cristiana che denota la gratitudine per un bene ricevuto»), anche se la sua traduzione non scioglie del tutto l'ambiguità del dettato latino (ivi, 252: Pizia «lo rese suddito di re Teodorico con manifestazione di gratitudine da parte sua»).

battaglia di Horreum Margi non è stata necessariamente trascritta in modo pedissequo dalle pagine del *magister officiorum*.[28]

Il brano riportato nomina esplicitamente Sabiniano, ma tace il coinvolgimento dei Bulgari, nascosti dietro alla definizione di *Illyricianus exercitus*. Risulta agevole spiegare le differenze col dettato cassiodoreo. Giordane scriveva a Bisanzio alla fine della Guerra Gotica, quindi non esitò a menzionare uno scontro tra soldati imperiali e Ostrogoti, mentre preferì tacere il coinvolgimento dei Bulgari, che avrebbe potuto creare qualche imbarazzo, dato che gli alleati del 505 erano nel frattempo diventati dei pericolosi nemici.[29] Mundo, poi, è definito (correttamente) un capo di *latrones* e *grassatores*,[30] ma per l'autore dei *Getica* egli si sottomise a Teoderico solo dopo la battaglia, circostanza sulla quale è lecito dubitare. Se fosse esistito un precedente patto con Teoderico, l'Amalo non avrebbe certo desiderato renderlo pubblico, considerata la condotta di vita poco onorevole del suo nuovo alleato, perciò non sorprende che Giordane (e forse, prima di lui, Cassiodoro) abbia taciuto questo particolare. Leggendo la sua versione dei fatti, tuttavia, il lettore fatica a comprendere perché Pizia avrebbe dovuto rischiare una guerra con l'Impero solo per salvare un predone. Inoltre

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28 I rapporti tra la *Gothorum Historia* di Cassiodoro e i *Getica* di Giordane sono stati oggetto di numerosi studi. Un punto di partenza fondamentale è A. Momigliano, Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI sec. d.C. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 8 (1956) 279 – 297 (ripubblicato in Idem, Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici. Roma 1960, 231 – 253). Gli aspetti essenziali della questione sono stati delineati da S. J. B. Barnish, The genesis and completion of Cassiodorus' Gothic History. *Latomus* 43 (1984) 336 – 361 e B. Croke, Cassiodorus and the *Getica* of Jordanes. *Classical Philology* 82 (1987) 117 – 134. Imprescindibile, anche se oggetto di numerose critiche, rimane W. Goffart, The narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550 – 800). Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon. Princeton 1988, 20 – 111, spec. 58 – 62. Per una panoramica della bibliografia novecentesca, cfr. A. Amici, Iordanes e la Storia Gotica. Spoleto 2002, 3 – 48. Negli ultimi anni si è assistito a un vivace dibattito sull'argomento, a partire da B. Croke, Latin historiography and the barbarian kingdoms, in G. Marasco (ed.), Greek and Roman historiography in late antiquity. Leiden/Boston 2003, 349 – 389: 367 – 375. Ipotesi innovative sulla genesi dei *Getica* sono state formulate da W. Liebeschuetz, Why did Jordanes write the *Getica? Antiquité Tardive* 19 (2011) 295 – 302 e M. Vitiello, Theoderic and the Italic kingdom in Cassiodorus' 'Gothic History': a hypothesis of reconstruction. *Klio* 96 (2014) 645 – 663. Per la bibliografia più recente e per una nuova interpretazione dei rapporti tra Cassiodoro e Giordane, cfr. L. Van Hoof / P van Nuffelen, The historiography of crisis. Jordanes, Cassiodorus and Justinian in mid sixth-century Constantinople. *JRS* 107 (2017), 275 – 300.

29 Come Giordane ricorda alla fine dei *Romana: Hi sunt casus Romanae rei publicae preter instantia cottidiana Bulgarum, Antium et Sclavinorum* (*Rom*. 388).

30 Iord. *Get*. 301. Cfr. Goffart, Narrators (come sopra nota 28) 67, che definisce Mundo «a chief of outlaws, ruffians, and vagabonds».

Giordane, presentando in questo modo lo svolgimento degli eventi, occulta il fatto che Anastasio aveva dato l'ordine di attaccare un alleato di Teoderico.

Ennodio ricorda lo scontro con Sabiniano nel *Panegyricus*, una lode del sovrano amalo probabilmente ultimata nel 507.[31]

> [...] *per foederati Mundonis adtrectationem Graecia est professa discordiam, secum Vulgares suos in tutela deducendo, quibus inter Martios conflictus castelli vice usa minitatur. Tunc Mundo credens ad praesidium sufficere, si cohortes tuae quid pateretur agnoscerent, pernicibus nuntiis periculi sui fidem conmisit, qui ante defensores inire pro partibus suis conspexit certamina, quam moliri didicisset.*
>
> [...] la Grecia con l'attacco portato al federato Mundo dichiarò la discordia, conducendo con sé in difesa i suoi Bulgari, dei quali minacciò di servirsi in battaglia come una fortificazione. Allora Mundo, credendo che bastasse per la sua protezione che le tue coorti venissero a sapere come stavano le cose, affidò a veloci messaggeri la notizia del proprio pericolo e, ancor prima di essere stato informato che i difensori si apprestavano a partire, li vide entrare in combattimento al suo fianco.[32]

Qui si accusa subito l'Impero d'Oriente (*Graecia*) di aver provocato lo scontro e si menzionano i Bulgari, alleati imbarazzanti per gli eredi di Costantino, mentre Mundo (chiamato, prima del combattimento, *foederatus*) è descritto in modo neutro: Ennodio non si sofferma sul suo passato. È importante notare che Pizia (e i Goti) corrono senza indugio ad aiutare un alleato (*foederatus*). Il generale di Teoderico sprona quindi i suoi uomini con un breve discorso, poi inizia lo scontro.

> *Incerta diu conflictus lance titubavit, dum par ex utroque latere pugnandi surrexisset asperitas. Concurrebant duae nationes, quibus numquam inter gladios fuga subvenerat. Miratae sunt mutuo sui similes inveniri et in humano genere vel Gothos resistentem videre vel Vulgares. Interea dum anceps esset fortuna certaminis et pinnatae mortes sibi aethera vindicarent, superavit nostri memoria principis, dum agerent, ut singulorum apud eum merita campus adsereret. Versa est in fugam natio punita gravius, quod evasit.*
>
> A lungo il conflitto vacillò con esito incerto, essendo divampata da entrambe le parti pari asprezza nel combattimento. Si scontravano due popoli che mai tra le spade avevano cercato via di scampo con la fuga. Si stupirono di trovarsi gli uni simili agli altri e di constatare che tra il genere umano esisteva qualcuno in grado di opporre resistenza ai Goti o ai Bulgari. Nel frattempo, mentre l'esito dello scontro era ancora incerto e le rapide frecce apportatrici di morte volavano alte rivendicando a sé l'etere, il ricordo del nostro principe

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31 Sulla datazione del *Panegyricus*, cfr. il commento di Rota (come sopra nota 6) 22 – 25 e soprattutto C. Rohr, Überlegungen zu Datierung und Anlaß des Theoderich-Panegyricus, in K. Brunner / B. Merta (eds.), Ethnogenese und Überlieferung. Angewandte Methoden der Frühmittelalterforschung. Wien/München 1994, 95 – 106.

32 Ennod. *Pan.* 63 – 64, trad. Rota (come sopra nota 6, 215) leggermente modificata.

ebbe la meglio, mentre i Goti facevano in modo che il campo di battaglia affermasse i meriti di ciascuno presso di lui. Si volse in fuga il popolo la cui punizione maggiore consistette proprio nel fatto di essere fuggito.[33]

Ennodio fa pronunciare ai Bulgari sconfitti una citazione virgiliana,[34] quindi narra le ultime fasi dei combattimenti.

Quid strages militum revolvam et Sabiniani ducis abitionem turpissimam, cum a ratione dividatur retexere exterminatis patrociniis quid evenerit indefenso? Tunc ne videretur celebrandus saeculis Pitzia non tam militasse gloriae quam cupiditati, liquit feris aut avibus campi laborem, cum ieiunum militem opulentis detrahere cadaveribus nihil iuberet.

Perché ricordare le stragi dei soldati e la vergognosissima ritirata del comandante Sabiniano, dal momento che non è conforme a ragione raccontare che cosa accadde a chi fu trovato indifeso, senza più protezione? Allora Pizia, degno di essere celebrato nei secoli, per non dare l'impressione di aver combattuto non tanto per amore della gloria quanto per cupidigia, lasciò alle fiere e agli uccelli il frutto della battaglia, vietando che i suoi soldati, affamati di preda, sottraessero alcunché ai ricchi cadaveri.[35]

La testimonianza di Ennodio è preziosa perché fu scritta pochi anni dopo il 505 (sicuramente prima del 508, dato che la guerra coi Franchi non è menzionata) e perché è contenuta in un'opera destinata al sovrano amalo, una circostanza che induce a ritenere che la ricostruzione ennodiana fosse stata elaborata in modo tale da essere ben accetta alla corte ravennate. Vale la pena di osservare che Mundo è presentato come un *foederatus* che può sempre contare sull'aiuto di Teoderico, parole importanti alla vigilia della battaglia di Vouillé (507).

L'ultima testimonianza rilevante sulla battaglia è offerta da una fonte orientale, il *Chronicon* di Marcellino Comes.

Idem Sabinianus Sabiniani Magni filius ductorque militiae delegatus contra Mundonem Getam arma construxit. Decem milia armatorum sibimet adscitorum plaustraque armis atque conmeatibus secum trahens pugnaturus accessit. Commissoque ad Horreo Margo proelio

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33 Ennod. *Pan.* 66 – 67, trad. Rota (come sopra nota 6, 215).
34 Come notato da S. Rota, Ennodio anti-Lucano. I modelli epici del *Panegyricus dictus clementissimo regi Theoderico*, in F. Gasti (ed.), Atti della Prima Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 29 – 30 marzo 2000). Pisa 2001, 31 – 55: 43. Cfr. Ennod. *Pan.* 67 (*Discedunt, terque et quater beatos esse clamitantes quos oppetere contigisset*) e Verg. *Aen.* 1.94 – 96 (*O terque quaterque beati, / quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis / contigit oppetere!*).
35 Ennod. *Pan.* 68, trad. Rota (come sopra nota 6, 217) leggermente modificata. Per una dettagliata analisi dei passi ennodiani, cfr. il commento di Rota (ivi, 375 – 389). Osservazioni più sintetiche sono formulate da C. Rohr, Byzanz und die oströmischen Kaiser im Spiegel der Werke des Ennodius, in F. Gasti (ed.), Atti della Terza Giornata Ennodiana (Pavia, 10 – 11 novembre 2004). Pisa 2006, 43 – 57: 51 – 52.

> *multis suorum militibus in hoc conflictu perditis et in Margo flumine enecatis, amissis praeterea plaustris in castellum, quod Nato dicitur, cum paucis fugit.*
>
> Lo stesso Sabiniano, figlio di Sabiniano Magno, al quale era stato assegnato il compito di guidare l'esercito, si preparò a combattere contro il gepida Mundo. Conducendo con sé diecimila soldati arruolati da lui e carri con armi e provviste, si avvicinò al nemico per affrontarlo. Dopo aver ingaggiato battaglia a Horreum Margi, perse molti dei suoi soldati durante lo scontro e molti annegarono nel fiume Margo; persi inoltre i carri, si rifugiò con pochi uomini in una fortezza chiamata Nato.[36]

Marcellino tace il coinvolgimento dei Bulgari e dei Goti; da quanto scrive sembra che gli avversari di Sabiniano fossero solo gli uomini di Mundo,[37] chiamato *Geta*, che qui però non significa Goto.[38] Ammette che ci furono perdite pesanti, ma, comprensibilmente, evita di definire *turpissima* la fuga di Sabiniano.

A queste testimonianze va aggiunto un passo di Procopio di Cesarea, che descrive Vitige, al momento della sua proclamazione a re dei Goti, come ἄνδρα οἰκίας μὲν οὐκ ἐπιφανοῦς ὄντα, ἐν μάχαις δὲ ταῖς ἀμφὶ Σίρμιον λίαν εὐδοκιμηκότα τὸ πρότερον, ἡνίκα τὸν πρὸς Γήπαιδας πόλεμον Θευδέριχος διέφερε («uomo non di famiglia illustre, ma che si era acquistato una grande notorietà nelle precedenti battaglie intorno a Sirmio, quando Teoderico aveva portato guerra ai Gepidi»).[39] Dato che né Giordane né Ennodio riferiscono di scontri armati coi Gepidi,[40] è probabile che Procopio alluda al conflitto coi Bulgari, che lo storico di Cesarea, come gli altri autori che scrivevano in Oriente, non menziona.

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36 Marc. Com. *Chron.* a. 505 (Marcellini Comitis *Chronicon*, ed. Th. Mommsen. Berolini 1894, *MGH*, *AA* 11).

37 Moorhead, Theoderic in Italy (come sopra nota 10) 175; Croke, Count Marcellinus (come sopra nota 11) 67: «It is interesting that Marcellinus makes no mention of the Bulgars associated with Sabinianus. Perhaps he did not approve of this emergency alliance». Sui Bulgari nel *Chronicon* di Marcellino, cfr. ivi, 69–72.

38 Il termine *Geta* ricorre tre volte in Marcellino e in nessun caso può riferirsi ai Goti, cfr., oltre al passo preso in esame, Marc. Com. *Chron.* a. 517: *Duae tunc Macedoniae Thessaliaque vastatae et usque Thermopylas veteremque Epirum Getae equites depraedati sunt*; a. 530: *Mundo Illyricianae utriusque militiae ductor dudum Getis Illyricum discursantibus primus omnium Romanorum ducum incubuit eosque haut paucis ipsorum interemptis fugavit*. Per l'identificazione di questi *Getae* con popolazioni slave, cfr. Stein, Historie (come sopra nota 22) 308, n. 1, ma giustamente Sarantis, Justinian's Balkan wars (come sopra nota 1) 59–60, osserva che l'etnonimo indica i Gepidi.

39 Proc. Caes. *Bell. Goth.* 1.11.5 (traduzione: Procopio di Cesarea, Le guerre, trad. M. Craveri. Torino 1977, 377). L'edizione di riferimento è Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia, ed. J. Haury / G. Wirth, vol. 2. Lipsiae 1963.

40 Iord. *Get.* 300; Ennod. *Pan.* 62.

Cassiodoro, invece, in una lettera composta all'incirca nel 527, loda il coraggio mostrato da Cipriano durante uno scontro coi Bulgari.[41] Il *magister officiorum*, in nome di Atalarico, scrive che *vidit te adhuc gentilis Danubius bellatorem: non te terruit Bulgarum globus, qui etiam nostris erat praesumptione certaminis obstaturus* («Ti vide guerriero, quand'era ancora barbaro, il Danubio: non ti atterrì quella massa dei Bulgari che, nella sua presuntuosa confidenza nella lotta, avrebbe dovuto contrastare persino i nostri»).[42] Cassiodoro si attiene al modello delineato nelle pagine precedenti, ovvero non cita né i Gepidi né, soprattutto, l'Impero e menziona unicamente i Bulgari. Anche quando ricorda la partecipazione di Tuluin alla campagna militare cita solamente questi ultimi: *emeritam laudem primis congressibus auspicatus neci dedit Bulgares toto orbe terribiles* («ricevuta come un presagio fin dai primi scontri una lode fuori del comune, fece strage dei Bulgari, terribili in tutto il mondo»).[43]

L'ideologia teodericiana della difesa dei *foederati*

La battaglia tra Goti e truppe imperiali fu causa di disagio sia a Bisanzio sia a Ravenna, tanto che Cassiodoro tace il coinvolgimento dell'Impero e Marcellino Comes, molto vicino all'imperatore Giustiniano, passa sotto silenzio i Goti.[44] I Bulgari sono nominati solo dalle due fonti occidentali, mentre gli autori che scrivono in Oriente li omettono dalla narrazione. Allo stesso modo, Cassiodoro non menziona Mundo ed Ennodio lo tratta come un *foederatus*, mentre Marcellino Comes afferma che era un non meglio specificato *Geta* e Giordane lo definisce senza esitazione un capo di briganti.[45] Chiaramente, sia Sabiniano sia Pizia avevano alleati di cui non andavano fieri.

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41 Su Cipriano, cfr. *PLRE* 2, 332–333 (Cyprianus 2), M.S. Bjornlie, Politics and tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople. A study of Cassiodorus and the *Variae*, 527–554. Cambridge 2013, 166–167, e soprattutto il commento di Adolfo La Rocca a *Var.* 8.21 in Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro Senatore, *Varie*, a cura di A. Giardina / G.A. Cecconi / I. Tantillo, con la collaborazione di F. Oppedisano, vol. 4. Roma 2016, 241–246. Cipriano fu uno dei delatori che portarono alla caduta in disgrazia di Boezio, cfr. Boeth. *Cons.* 1.4.14.

42 Cassiod. *Var.* 8.21.3, trad. Adolfo la Rocca (come sopra nota 41, 47; per un dettagliato commento al passo, cfr. ivi, 243–244).

43 Cassiod. *Var.* 8.10.4; trad. di Pierfrancesco Porena (come sopra nota 41, 25).

44 J.J. O'Donnell, The ruin of the Roman empire. New York 2008, 215 definisce Marcellino Comes la «voice of Justinian's court». Cassiodoro cita Marcellino in *Inst.* 1.17.1–2, ma non sembra aver usato la sua cronaca per narrare la battaglia di Horreum Margi.

45 Cfr. Wiemer, Theoderich (come sopra nota 7) 349: «Aus römischer Sicht war Mundo nicht viel mehr als ein erfolgreicher Räuberhauptmann».

Dalle fonti, poi, è impossibile comprendere quali fossero gli ordini di Pizia riguardo all'Impero, ma l'abbandono del bottino da parte dei Goti rappresenta un particolare rilevante. Ennodio giustifica questo comportamento insolito affermando che Pizia era mosso solamente dal desiderio di gloria, non dalla *cupiditas*. In realtà l'aspirazione alla gloria ebbe uno scarso peso nella genesi della battaglia, che fu il risultato di complesse manovre politiche decise a Costantinopoli e a Ravenna. Perciò occorre analizzare più attentamente la rinuncia dei Goti al bottino.

In primo luogo si può ipotizzare che Pizia non desiderasse altri scontri con i soldati di Anastasio perché era andato oltre le direttive ricevute. Ravenna era lontana e non si poteva chiedere a Teoderico l'autorizzazione a soccorrere Mundo, bisognava agire subito. È dunque possibile che Pizia fosse intervenuto di sua iniziativa, combattendo una battaglia che avrebbe dovuto evitare.[46] Questa ricostruzione parte dal presupposto che Teoderico o non avesse lasciato istruzioni a Pizia o gli avesse ordinato di evitare categoricamente ogni scontro con l'Impero, ma è improbabile che l'Amalo avesse trascurato l'eventualità di un confronto con le truppe imperiali. Inoltre la stessa conquista di Sirmium mostra che il re goto era pronto a correre dei rischi e non è verosimile che fosse disposto a lasciarsi sottrarre da Anastasio le terre appena occupate senza opporre resistenza.

Va quindi formulata una seconda ipotesi, ovvero che l'Amalo avesse stabilito di adottare verso Anastasio una politica meramente difensiva, volta a proteggere sia i territori conquistati sia i suoi *foederati*. Per lui era importante mostrarsi un alleato affidabile, specialmente agli occhi dei Visigoti, minacciati dall'espansionismo franco. La narrazione di Ennodio, come si è già messo in rilievo, rivela chiaramente tale finalità. Se si accetta questa congettura, Pizia agì nel pieno rispetto delle direttive teodericiane. Una volta compiuto il suo dovere di difendere un *foederatus*, lasciò subito il campo di battaglia, in modo da non dare adito a provocazioni e, soprattutto, in modo da far apparire il suo intervento una mossa meramente difensiva, aliena da ogni velleità di saccheggio o conquista.

I soldati di Pizia, poi, sono chiamati *defensores*, un termine cruciale per comprendere l'ideologia teodericiana. Tale vocabolo compare anche in *Var.* 4.36, nella quale Teoderico, dopo che nel 508 il suo esercito aveva attraversato le Alpi Cozie *more fluminis*, esentava gli abitanti della regione dal pagamento delle

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46 Il che, però, mal si accorda con l'immagine che Ennodio dà del generale goto, cfr. Ennod. *Pan.* 62: *consiliorum momenta librabat*. Cfr. Wiemer, Theoderich (come sopra nota 7) 350.

imposte. Nella lettera si insiste molto sul concetto di *defensio:* prima si parla di *defensio cunctorum* e poi di *defensores Italiae*.[47] Tali definizioni costituiscono la giustificazione teodericiana del conflitto coi Franchi, che ebbe una genesi molto simile alla battaglia di Horreum Margi. Anche in quel caso Teoderico non reagì a un attacco nemico ai danni del suo popolo, ma accorse in difesa di un alleato, il Regno Visigoto. Per evitare che il suo intervento venisse percepito come un'aggressione, Cassiodoro lo descrisse come una *defensio*. Le truppe di Teoderico divennero così un esercito di *defensores*, esattamente come i Goti di Pizia tre anni prima.

La *discordia* ennodiana e gli obiettivi politici dell'Impero

A questo punto bisogna domandarsi quali fossero gli obiettivi di Costantinopoli. Teoderico aveva attaccato i Gepidi nel 504 contando sul fatto che l'Impero era impegnato a combattere i Persiani, ma nel 505 fu stipulata una tregua coi Sasanidi e così si liberarono delle truppe per intervenire nei Balcani.[48] Il fatto che i soldati di Sabiniano fossero stati mandati contro Mundo non appena Teoderico ebbe occupato Sirmium non può essere casuale. Perché un predone gepida divenne all'improvviso tanto importante?

Per rispondere a questa domanda è fondamentale l'allusione alla *discordia*. Anzitutto è bene analizzare il valore semantico del termine,[49] che è presente nove volte nelle opere ennodiane: in tre casi si riferisce allo Scisma Laurenziano, in ben cinque casi a contrasti tra sovrani o condottieri e in un caso, quello in esame, allude alla malizia della *Graecia*.[50] Per Ennodio, dunque, *discordia* ha

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47 Cassiod. *Var.* 4.36.3: *Unde necesse fuit civica vastatione deiectis porrigere dexteram salutarem, ne ingrati dicant se perisse solos pro defensione cunctorum: misceantur potius laetitiae qui viam Italiae defensoribus praestiterunt.*

48 Wozniak, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 372; Greatrex, Rome and Persia (come sopra nota 10) 115–118.

49 Cfr. S. A. H. Kennell, Magnus Felix Ennodius. A gentleman of the church. Ann Arbor 2000, 208: «This is the panegyrist's exalted way of saying that Eastern troops commenced overt hostilities on a certain occasion». Si tratta di un'interpretazione riduttiva, che non tiene conto delle altre occorrenze di *discordia* nel corpus ennodiano (discusse *infra*). Sul significato di *concordia* e *discordia* nell'Italia ostrogota, cfr. M. Cristini, Concordia Theodericiana. De concordia in Latinis litteris Theoderici regis aetate conscriptis. *Latomus*, c.d.s.

50 Ennod. *Lib. pro Syn.* 110 e 136 (Scisma Laurenziano); *Ep.* 1.14.3 (lettera a Fausto sulle conseguenze dello Scisma Laurenziano); *Vit. Epiph.* 51 (contrasti tra Ricimero e Antemio), 80 (lite sugli *Italici fines Imperii* tra Eurico e Giulio Nepote), 95 (scontri tra Oreste e Odoacre a Pavia

una valenza semantica ben precisa: si riferisce alle dispute riguardanti la Chiesa oppure a contrasti politico-militari.

Nel caso dello Scisma Laurenziano i responsabili della *discordia* erano evidenti e non c'era alcun bisogno di menzionarli. In tutte le altre occorrenze, invece, nelle righe immediatamente precedenti si chiarisce chi fossero i protagonisti della *discordia*, sempre due: Ricimero e Antemio (*Vit. Epiph.* 51), Eurico e Giulio Nepote (*Vit. Epiph.* 80), Oreste e Odoacre (*Vit. Epiph.* 95), Odoacre e la famiglia reale dei Rugi (*Pan.* 25),[51] Friderico e Tufa (*Pan.* 55).

In *Pan.* 63 apparentemente questo schema è mantenuto, dato che Ennodio scrive *per foederati Mundonis adtrectationem Graecia est professa discordiam.* Qui, tuttavia, l'attacco portato a Mundo è semplicemente un complemento di mezzo ed Ennodio non rivela apertamente chi fosse l'altro interlocutore coinvolto nella discordia fomentata dalla *Graecia*, bensì lo lascia solo intuire nel paragrafo successivo. Una simile reticenza è perfettamente in linea con le altre fonti, che cercano in ogni modo di nascondere lo scontro tra l'Impero e il Regno Ostrogoto. Per chiarire il senso dell'espressione ennodiana è necessario esaminare più da vicino il paragrafo 64.

> *Tunc Mundo credens ad praesidium sufficere, si cohortes tuae quid pateretur agnoscerent, pernicibus nuntiis periculi sui fidem conmisit, qui ante defensores inire pro partibus suis conspexit certamina, quam moliri didicisset.*

Mundo, afferma Ennodio, chiese aiuto alle *cohortes tuae*, ovvero di Teoderico, che giunsero in suo soccorso con incredibile rapidità.

Grazie a questo aggettivo possessivo finalmente il lettore intuisce contro chi fosse rivolta la discordia imperiale. Per Ennodio l'obiettivo non era Mundo, bensì Teoderico, il quale non desiderava scontrarsi con l'Impero, ma, d'altra parte, era tenuto a difendere un *foederatus* in difficoltà. Questo è il fulcro del rimprovero che Ennodio muove a Costantinopoli: Anastasio volle costringere l'Amalo a venir

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nel 476); *Pan.* 25 (forse la guerra tra Odoacre e i Rugi), 55 (scontro tra Friderico e Tufa), 63 (Horreum Margi).

51 Uno dei motivi che spinsero Teoderico a uccidere Odoacre fu il desiderio di vendicare dei non meglio specificati suoi congiunti, molto probabilmente Giso e Feletheus, re e regina dei Rugi, catturati e, a quanto sembra, uccisi da Odoacre, cfr. Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex Historia Chronica, ed. U. Roberto. *TU*, 154. Berlin/New York 2005, fr. 307. In questo racconto dalle forti tinte drammatiche Giovanni Antiocheno fa dire a Odoacre, mentre sta per essere trafitto: «Dov'è Dio?». Al che Teoderico risponde: «Questo è ciò che anche tu hai fatto ai miei» (Τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅ καὶ σὺ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔδρασας). Chi siano οἱ ἐμοὶ non è chiaro, potrebbe trattarsi dei Goti uccisi a tradimento da Tufa, ma più probabilmente si allude a Giso e Feletheus, protagonisti di questo passo ennodiano, sul quale cfr. il commento di Rota (come sopra nota 6, 304). Cfr. anche W. Giese, Die Goten. Stuttgart 2004, 71.

meno ai suoi doveri nei confronti di un alleato, compromettendo quindi il proprio prestigio agli occhi degli altri sovrani germanici, oppure a infrangere la pace, la *concordia* con Bisanzio, che durava dal 488 ed era uno dei pilastri ideologici del dominio ostrogoto sull'Italia.

La frase di Ennodio sulla discordia imperiale merita di essere brevemente considerata anche da un'altra angolazione. Nelle *Variae* il termine *discordia* compare cinque volte e in ben tre casi si riferisce all'Impero.[52] È importante soprattutto la prima occorrenza, in *Var.* 1.1, scritta pochi anni dopo Horreum Margi. Lì Teoderico, rivolgendosi ad Anastasio, afferma: *pati vos non credimus inter utrasque res publicas, quarum semper unum corpus sub antiquis principibus fuisse declaratur, aliquid discordiae permanere* («Non pensiamo che voi possiate tollerare che rimanga qualche traccia di discordia tra l'uno e l'altro stato, i quali – è manifesto – formarono sempre un solo corpo sotto gli antichi principi»).[53] Lo scopo principale della lettera è superare la discordia esistente tra Ravenna e Costantinopoli, la stessa di cui parlava Ennodio nel suo *Panegirico*. La discordia con l'Impero, cominciata nel 505, aveva portato a una devastante incursione navale sulle coste pugliesi[54] e aveva contribuito a far scoppiare la guerra coi Franchi. Per questo Teoderico inaugurò la sua corrispondenza con Bisanzio nel segno della concordia.[55]

Conclusione

La battaglia di Horreum Margi segnò una svolta nelle relazioni tra il Regno Ostrogoto e l'Impero. Dopo diciassette anni di relativa pace, Teoderico si trovò nuovamente a combattere con Costantinopoli. A distanza di quindici secoli è impossibile determinare se Anastasio e l'Amalo desiderassero veramente giungere a uno scontro armato, ma la reticenza delle fonti lascia intendere che la battaglia di Horreum Margi rappresentò una fonte di imbarazzo per entrambi.[56] Cassiodoro, Giordane e Marcellino Comes tentano di occultare il coinvolgimento dei contingenti di alleati e tacciono le responsabilità dell'Impero. Solo Ennodio,

52 Cassiod. *Var.* 1.1.4, 1.31.3, 1.32.4, 10.21.2, 11.13.4. La prima, quarta e quinta occorrenza si riferiscono all'Impero.
53 Cassiod. *Var.* 1.1.4.
54 Marc. Com. *Chron.* a. 508; Iord. *Rom.* 356; Cassiod. *Var.* 1.16, 2.38.
55 Cassiod. *Var.* 1.1.2 : *concordiam vestram quaerere debeamus.*
56 Cfr. Wozniak, East Rome (come sopra nota 2) 372: «Theoderic clearly did not wish to antagonize the East any more than the annexation of Sirmium from the Gepids».

che scrive alla vigilia della Guerra di Provenza, fomentata da Bisanzio,[57] prova a inquadrare il conflitto nel contesto delle relazioni tra Costantinopoli e Ravenna, attribuendone la colpa alla *Graecia*, desiderosa di seminare *discordia* e di ostacolare la *Bündnispolitik* teodericiana. Infatti gli Ostrogoti volevano essere considerati degli alleati affidabili, ma allo stesso tempo aspiravano a mantenere la concordia con Bisanzio. L'Impero, invece, era intenzionato a ridimensionare la loro influenza e a ostacolare le alleanze strette da Teoderico con gli altri popoli germanici, ma per farlo dovette servirsi dei Bulgari.

Tale complessa situazione si rispecchia nelle fonti del VI secolo, che cercano di nascondere gli aspetti meno nobili della politica dei due sovrani dietro a una fitta rete di silenzi e omissioni. Questo vero e proprio torneo delle ombre, combattuto sia con le armi sia con la retorica, caratterizzò non solo i primi anni del VI secolo, ma tutta la parabola del Regno Ostrogoto, che seppe tener testa per sessant'anni alla diplomazia costantinopolitana, mostrando così di essere realmente *unici exemplar Imperii.*[58]

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57 In *Var.* 3.4.4 Teoderico esorta Clodoveo a diffidare di coloro che spargono discordia: *nullatenus inter vos scandala seminet aliena malignitas*. Cfr. Lamma, Teoderico. Brescia 1950, 74: «Può essere un'allusione ai Burgundi, ma riteniamo più probabile che si tratti di un riferimento all'Oriente, che non può aver perso quest'occasione per fomentare la discordia tra i popoli germanici». A un intervento della diplomazia imperiale si allude anche in *Var.* 3.1.4: *qui maligne gaudent alieno certamine*. Cfr. Moorhead, Theoderic in Italy (come sopra nota 10) 182.
58 Cassiod. *Var.* 1.1.3.

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Dirk Krausmüller

How widespread was the belief in demonic tollgates in sixth- to ninth-century Byzantium?

Abstract: While narratives about the ascent of the souls through the air and their examination at toll-gates were very popular in Byzantium, it would be wrong to believe that they were universally accepted. Andrew of Crete conceptualised the afterlife in such a way that no room was left for dramatic encounters with demons. Theodore of Stoudios accepted that the souls of the deceased were judged but never spoke of bands of evil spirits, which represented different kinds of vices. It seems that at least in the eighth and early ninth centuries the ecclesiastical elite found the fanciful accounts too much to stomach.

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One of the most popular topics in Byzantine religious literature is the afterlife. Authors present harrowing accounts of the terror that the souls will experience during the Last Judgement and of the torments that they will suffer if they are sent to Hell. The motifs employed in such descriptions are taken from the Gospels: we hear about the separation of sheep and goats, the outer darkness, the worm that never dies, and the wailing and gnashing of teeth. No such Biblical precedent exists for another theme, the separation of the soul from the body and its ascent through the air. Here imagination runs free. Authors claim that the soul will encounter bands of demons at a sequence of tollgates, which represent the different vices, and that it will not be able to pass if the number of its sins exceeds that of its good deeds. In recent years these narratives have again attracted the attention of scholars. In 2014 Saskia Dirkse published an article

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in which she argued that the theme had its origins in Late Antique Egypt.[1] In 2015 Eirini Afentoulidou followed suit with a comprehensive survey of the available texts and a discussion of the mentality of the authors.[2] Finally, in 2017, Vasileios Marinis dealt extensively with the topic in his monograph about death and the afterlife in Byzantium.[3] This article is meant to complement the research of the three scholars. It seeks to determine how widespread belief in the tollgates was. As the topic is vast the discussion will be limited to the period between the late sixth and the early ninth century.

Since we cannot assume that everybody had the same views about the afterlife, the first question we must ask is: at what time and in which milieus were accounts of the examination of the souls at the tollgates written and read? There can be no doubt that the topic was already well developed in the third century. In his homilies Origen explains that the devil and the demons meet the souls on their way up through the air, examine which sins they have committed, and drag down those who have not passed the test. Moreover, he uses the specific term τελώνης.[4] Yet this does not necessarily mean that it was known everywhere or that it was accepted by everyone. Marinis who surveyed Patristic texts dating to the fourth and fifth centuries was not able to find much relevant material. Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom only make brief and vague references to what may happen to the soul after death.[5] The same can be said about Gregory of Nazianzus.[6] This reticence demands an explanation. Marinis speaks of a 'reluctance to take up a subject for which there is little information in Scripture'.[7] It is, however, also possible that flamboyant accounts of the tollgates were not to

1 S. Dirkse, Teloneia: the tollgates of the air as an Egyptian motif in Patristic sources and early Byzantine hagiography, in P. Roilos (ed.), Medieval Greek torytelling: fictionality and narrative in Byzantium. Wiesbaden 2014, 41 – 43. For older literature see G. Every, Tollgates of the air way. *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1978) 139 – 151, and G. J. M. Bartelink, 'TELONAI' (Zöllner) als Dämonenbezeichnung. *Sacris Erudiri* 27 (1984) 5 – 18.

2 E. Afentoulidou, Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen in den byzantinischen Berichten von posthumen Zollstationen. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geisteswissenschaft* 67 (2015) 17 – 42.

3 V. Marinis, Death and the afterlife in Byzantium. The fate of the soul in theology, liturgy, and art. Cambridge / New York 2017, esp. 9 – 48.

4 See Marinis, Death and afterlife 15 – 16, with references to *PG* 13, 1861, and *PG* 12, 1366. See also Dirkse, Teloneia 41 – 42.

5 See Marinis, Death and afterlife 22, with references to *PG* 29, 232, and *PG* 48, 984.

6 See J. Mossay, La mort et l'au-delà dans saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Louvain 1966, esp. 102 – 108.

7 Marinis, Death and afterlife 22.

the taste of the elite to which the three bishops belonged.[8] There seems to be only one exception, Athanasius of Alexandria. Athanasius was undoubtedly also a member of the elite. Yet when he wrote the *Vita Antonii* he included two accounts of the ascent of the soul and its encounter with demons, albeit without a specific reference to the tollgates.[9] One wonders why this is the case. It is possible that Athanasius found it easier to speak about the topic in a hagiographical text than in a sermon or a letter.[10]

Dirkse, Afentoulidou and Marinis discuss three further texts, which contain much more detailed descriptions of the fate of the souls. The first is the second *Visio de sanctis angelis*, which presents itself as the first-hand account of a holy man named Macarius,[11] the second is the sermon *De exitu animi*, which in the manuscripts is attributed to Cyril of Alexandria,[12] and the third is a *narratio animae utilis* about the out-of-body experience of a soldier at the rank of *taxeotes*.[13] The second *Visio* of Macarius is undoubtedly an important piece of evidence. It mentions the tollgates in general and focuses especially on the tollgates of fornication, adultery and sodomy. Yet it cannot be dated with any precision or securely attributed to a particular milieu. There are two famous monks called Macarius, Macarius of Egypt and Macarius of Alexandria, who both lived in the second half of the fourth century.[14] Yet it is unclear whether either of them is meant since the author of the *Visio* speaks of Macarius *tout court*. Indeed, it is possible that it is an entirely different person since the events are said to have taken place in Constantinople and not in Egypt. This may suggest a Constantinopolitan provenance. The *Pinakes* of the *IHRT* list four manuscripts, one dating to the thirteenth century, and the other three dating to the post-Byzantine period.[15]

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8 On the role of restraint in Gregory of Nazianzus' self-image see C. Rapp, Holy bishops in lte antiquity: the nature of Christian leadership in an age of transition. Berkeley 2005, 43.

9 *Vita Antonii* 65, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, Athanase d'Alexandrie, Vie d'Antoine. *SC*, 400. Paris 1994, 304 – 306. See Dirkse, Telonia 43 – 44; Afentoulidou, Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen 22; and Marinis, Death and afterlife 17. The specific topic of the tollgates is absent from these visions.

10 This does not necessarily mean that such accounts were a standard feature in late antique hagiographical literature. The *Vitae* of Cyril of Scythopolis, for example, do not mention the topic.

11 Macarius, *Visiones de sanctis angelis* 2 (not in *CPG*, *BHG*[a] 999n); *PG* 34, 224C–229 A.

12 'Cyrillus Alexandrinus', *Homilia xiv. De exitu animi* (*CPG* 5258; *BHG*[n] 2103z, 2013zb); *PG* 77, 1072 – 1089.

13 C. de Boor, Zur Vision des Taxaotes. *BZ* 5 (1896) 306 – 310.

14 See Dirkse, Teloneia, 45 – 46, who refers to them as 'fourth-century tales'.

15 Cod. Vat. gr. 1868, s. 13 (Diktyon 68497). The text could have been written in the tenth century when the production of spiritually beneficial tales resumed. See J. Wortley, Les récits édi-

Thus we cannot exclude that the text was written at a much later date.[16] The sermon *De exitu animi* poses similar problems. It is often dated to Cyril's lifetime.[17] Yet as Dirkse has pointed out it is a late concoction.[18] The section of the text that concerns us here is adapted from a sermon that goes under the name of Theophilus of Alexandria.[19] The text is preserved in the original Greek and in a Syriac translation. In addition, excerpts are included in the *Sacra parallela* and in the *Apophthegmata patrum*. Comparison shows that the versions of 'Theophilus' and of 'Cyril' differ considerably from one another.

De exitu animi ('Cyril')	*Sacra Parallela* ('Theophilus')	Vat. gr. 2000 ('Theophilus')
Παραγίνονται γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατιαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις οὐράνιοι, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων, οἱ τοῦ σκότου ἄρχοντες, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τῆς πονηρίας, **οἱ τελωνάρχαι, καὶ λογοθέται καὶ πρα-**	Παραγίνεται γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατιὰ καὶ δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων, οἱ τοῦ σκότους ἄρχοντες, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τῆς πονηρίας, **αἱ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι**,	Παραγίνεται γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατεῖα καὶ δύναμις τῶν ἐναντίων δυνάμεων, οἱ τοῦ σκότους ἄρχοντες, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τῆς πονηρίας,

fiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie. Introduction et texte. Paris 1987. Marinis, Death and afterlife 22 – 23, and note 60, states that the story is already found in a manuscript of the ninth century, the Cod. Vat. gr. 1843 (Diktyon 68472). Yet what we read there is not the *Visiones de sanctis angelis* but the *Visio de sorte animarum* (*BHG*[a] 999w), edited in *PG* 34, 385 – 392, which contains no reference to the tollgates.

16 It is worth noting that in two manuscripts, Cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 200, s. 16 (Diktyon 34295), and Cod. Tyrnav. 18, s. 15 – 16 (Diktyon 643689), the *Visiones de sanctis angelis* are preceded or followed by the tenth-century *Vita Basilii junioris*, which contains the most detailed descriptions of the soul's passing through the tollgates. On this text see Marinis, Death and afterlife 28 – 33. The *Visiones de sanctis angelis* are not found in the *Evergetinos*, which contains no text that mentions the tollgates. See Marinis, Death and afterlife 37, where this fact is noted but it is then claimed that 'it seems impossible that Paul, who evidently had access to an excellent library, was unaware of the *telonia*'. It is possible that Paul made a conscious decision not to include such material.

17 See Afentoulidou, Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen 20; B.E. Daley, 'At the hour of our death': Mary's Dormition and Christian dying in late patristic and early Byzantine literature. *DOP* 55 (2001) 71 – 89, esp. 76; and N. Constas, 'To sleep, perchance, to dream': the middle state of souls in patristic and Byzantine literature. *DOP* 55 (2001) 92 – 124, esp. 109.

18 Dirkse, Teloneia, 49 – 50.

19 M. Richard, Les écrits de Théophile d'Alexandrie. *Le Muséon* 52 (1939) 33 – 50, esp. 41 – 42. The text is most likely of Egyptian provenance although no Coptic version appears to be known.

κτοψηφισταὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀνθρωποκτόνος διάβολος, ὁ ἐν κακίᾳ δυνάστης, …		
ὁ ἔχων τοῦ θανάτου κράτος καὶ τρόπῳ τινὶ κατέχων τὴν ψυχήν.[20]	καὶ τρόπῳ τινὶ δίκης κατέχουσι τὴν ψυχήν.[21]	καὶ τρόπῳ τινὶ δίκης κατέχουσιν τὴν ψυχήν.[22]

The colourful terminology, borrowed from everyday life, which likens the demons to fiscal administrators, is only found in 'Cyril'.[23] 'Theophilus' contents himself with reproducing the Biblical formula 'dominions and powers'.[24] The discrepancy between the two texts is even clearer in the following passage. In 'Theophilus' we are told that the souls stand in the middle between the demons and the angels and wait in fear and trembling until they are judged by Christ. This detail is also found in 'Cyril' but there it is preceded by a lengthy account of the souls' ascent through the air.[25] As Carl de Boor has demonstrated and Dirkse has more recently reiterated, this account has a close parallel in the story about the visionary experience of a *taxeotes* who had died but was then returned to life. In this story mention is made of the tollgates.

De exitu animi ('Cyril')	Story of the *taxeotes*
Ἡ ψυχή … εὑρίσκει τὰ τελώνια φύλαττοντα τὴν ἄνοδον καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ	Ηὑρίσκαμεν τελώνια φυλάττοντα τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ διακωλύοντα

20 'Cyril', *PG* 77, 1073AB.
21 Sacra Parallela, PG 96, 156CD.
22 Cod. Vat. gr. 2000, fol. 260r (Diktyon 68629). The same text is found in the *Apophthegmata patrum*, *PG* 65, 200AB.
23 The compound πρακτοψηφιστής appears to be a hapax. It is listed in Lampe but not in the *LBG*.
24 The reference to ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι is only found in the *Sacra Parallela* but goes back to the original as is evident from the Syriac translation. See M. Brière, Une homélie inédite de Théophile d'Alexandrie. *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 18 (1913) 79–83, esp. 82: 'En effet, les armées et les milices ennemies, ainsi que les princes des ténèbres qui gouvernent le monde mauvais: **autorités, dominations** et esprits du mal, se réunissent près de nous et ils retiennent dans une sorte de frayeur l'âme.' The original was undoubtedly Greek. The phrase 'dans une sorte de frayeur' suggests that the translater read τρόμῳ τινί instead of τρόπῳ τινί.
25 'Cyril', *PG* 77, 1076B. One notes, however, that in 'Cyril' the judgement by Christ is omitted.
26 'Cyril', *PG* 77, 1073C.
27 Edited by F. Combefis, Bibliothecae graecorum patrum auctarium novissimum. Paris 1672, 324–326, quoted after De Boor, Vision des Taxaotes 308.

διακωλύοντα τὰς ἀναβαινούσας ψυχή, ἕκαστον τελώνιον τὰς οἰκείας ἁμαρτίας προφέρει αὐτῶν.[26]	τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ λογοθετοῦντα πάσας τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἕκαστον τελώνιον τὴν οἰκείαν ἁμαρτίαν.[27]

Comparison shows that the sermon *De exitu animi* gives a fuller account of the tollgates than the story about the *taxeotes*. It alone enumerates several of them, at which sins committed through speech, sight, hearing, smell and touch are examined.[28] As de Boor has been able to show, the sermon is dependent on the story, generalising and elaborating the experiences of the *taxeotes*.[29] Due to the historical information contained in it, we know that the story was written during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641).[30] Accordingly, the sermon must date to a later period. Dirkse has suggested that it was composed soon after the story.[31] Yet this is not certain because no translations into Syriac or Coptic are known.[32] Indeed, the oldest surviving manuscripts date only to the thirteenth century.[33] As is the case with the *Visio* of Macarius, the text was especially popular in the post-Byzantine period. Twenty-three of the twenty-nine manuscripts listed in the *Pinakes* of the *IHRT* date to the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries.

This leaves us with the story about the *taxeotes*, which is not only securely dated but was also known in Constantinople already in the ninth century because it is reproduced with slight changes in the chronicle of George the Monk.[34] In his article de Boor suggested that the story about the *taxeotes* was part of a general trend. He pointed out that in the same decades several other

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28 See Dirkse, Teloneia 49–50.

29 See De Boor, Vision des Taxaotes 309–310. See also J. Wortley, Death, judgement, heaven, and hell in Byzantine 'beneficial tales'. *DOP* 55 (2001) 53–69, esp. 62.

30 See W. E. Kaegi, Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium. Cambridge 2003, 101–104.

31 Marinis, Death and afterlife 20–21, and note 38.

32 There is only an Arabic version, cf. *CPG* 5258. As we know, translations from Greek into Arabic were still produced in the tenth and eleventh century. The translators were Melkites such as the abbot of the monastery on the Wondrous Mountain. See J.-M. Sauget, Le patérikon du manuscrit arabe 276 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. *Le Muséon* 82 (1969) 363–404.

33 Cod. Ambrosianus, F 124 sup. (Diktyon 42779); Cod. Mosquensis, Historical Museum, Sinod. gr. 409 (Diktyon 44034); Cod. Athous Vatopedi 183 (Diktyon 18327). Cod. Vat. gr. 2000, which is also listed in the *IHRT*, contains a different text. See note 22.

34 Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, II. Leipzig 1904, 678–683.

narratives, such as that about Emperor Maurice (582–602), were composed.[35] This raises the possibility that interest in the tollgates increased in the late sixth and early seventh century.[36]

Indeed, an important piece of evidence can be dated to these years. It is the writings of Symeon Stylites the Younger. Symeon was undoubtedly the most famous Chalcedonian holy man of the sixth century. At the time of his death in 592 he was head of a large monastery on top of a hill, which came to be called the Wondrous Mountain because it had witnessed a great number of miraculous cures.[37] Symeon was in the habit of delivering short sermons, which were later collected, revised and disseminated.[38] These texts reflect an exceedingly sombre worldview. According to Symeon, the human race is mired in sin and unwilling to repent. Such obstinacy, however, will not go unpunished. The sinners will get their comeuppance in the afterlife. To drive home this point Symeon describes the Last Judgement and the torments in Hell in lurid colours.[39] Yet there is another topic, which is even closer to his heart: the fate that awaits the soul immediately after its separation from the body. It is described in vivid detail in the twenty-second sermon.[40]

> Ἰδοὺ δὴ μυστήρια ὑμῖν λέγω· οἶδα ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπον ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ πεπληροφορημένον, ὅτι νῦν ὀλίγοι εὑρίσκονται οἱ εἰς χεῖρας ἀγγέλων παραδιδόντας τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν· ἐπληθύνθη γὰρ ἡ ἀνομία καὶ ἡ ἀδικία, ψυγείσης τῆς ἀγάπης· καὶ δαίμονές εἰσιν οἱ παραλαμβάνοντες αὐτάς· διὸ καὶ ἀνηλεοῖς βασάνοις κέχρηνται αὐτὰς μετὰ δεινῆς κρίσεως ἐν τῇ ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων ἀποζεύξει τῶν ἀναριθμήτων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ὡς ἕλκοντας τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων, μέχρι τοῦ ἀναβῆναι εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ πιπλάρια τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. [41]

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35 De Boor, Zur Vision des Taxaotes 307. See J. Wortley, The legend of the Emperor Maurice, in: Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes Septembre 1976, IV. Histoire, Communications. Athens 1980, 382–391.

36 This was a time when interest in the supernatural increased. See e. g. A. Cameron, Elites and icons in late sixth-century Byzantium. *Past & Present* 84 (1979) 3–35.

37 On Symeon see P. van den Ven, La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592), I: Introduction et texte grec. *Subsidia hagiographica*, 32. Brussels 1962, esp. 124*–191*.

38 P. van den Ven, Les écrits de S. Syméon le Stylite avec trois sermons inédits. *Le Muséon*, 70 (1957) 1–57, esp. 11–25. For the other sermons see: Symeon Cionita, *Sermones triginta*, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* 9/3. Rome 1871, 33–156 (*CPG* 7367). According to the *Pinakes* of the *IHRT* there exist ten manuscripts, dating from the eleventh to the eighteenth century.

39 Symeon, *Sermo* 21, ed. Cozza-Luzi 103–111.

40 Symeon, *Sermo* 22, ed. Cozza-Luzi 111–118, On this text see Afentoulidou, Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen 22.

41 Symeon, *Sermo* 22, ed. Cozza-Luzi 112.

> Behold, then, I tell you secrets. *I know a man* (cf. II Corinthians 12:2) in this generation who has been informed that now, few are those who commend their souls into the hands of angels, *for lawlessness and injustice abound since love has grown cold* (cf. Mt 24:12), and it is demons who receive them, wherefore they also use merciless tortures against them, with terrible judgement, during the separation of innumerable human beings from their abodes, as pulling the souls out of the bodies until they rise up to the very lids of the eyes.

The visionary who is, of course, none other than Symeon himself, then explains how dismayed he had been at this sight, how he had sighed, wept and bewailed the vanity of human existence, before he continues with his account. When a soul ascends, the angels observe it in order to find out whether there is anything good in it. If this is not the case, they must remain passive as the devil has then the right to judge. After he has declared that this scenario was alluded to by Paul in Ephesians 2:2 where Satan is called 'the ruler of the power of the air', the visionary again takes up the thread of his narrative.[42]

> Πρὸς γὰρ τῆς πύλης παρίστανται αἱ διάφοροι ἐξουσίαι τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας, κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἀναλογίαν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν· διερευνᾷ γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πορνείας εἰ λόγον φθορᾶς εἰς δυσωδίαν ἔχει ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς λήθης, εἴ ποτε διὰ μέθης καὶ κραιπάλης βαρήσας τὴν καρδίαν, λήθην ἐνεποίησε τοῦ μὴ μνημονεύειν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ· συναίρει δὲ λόγον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς δολοφονίας, εἴ ποτε ἐμιάνθη ἐν αἵμασι· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τῆς φιλαργυρίας, εἴ ποτε ἁρπάζοντα αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασεν, ἢ μηδόλως ποιῆσαι ἔλεος· συνκρίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς καταλαλιᾶς, εἴ ποτε καταψεύσασθαι τινῶν ἐξέκαυσεν ἀδίκως· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πνεύματα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους, συναίρει λόγον πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῆς εἰσόδου τῶν ἐπουρανίων· ταῦτα γὰρ τηλαυγῶς τις ἰδὼν διηγήσατο.[43]

> For the different powers of the spirits of evil stand at the gate, corresponding to the desires of each one. For the spirit of fornication examines if he has in his soul a reckoning of corruption that results in stench, and the spirit of forgetfulness if he has at some point burdened his heart with drunkenness and dissipation and has caused forgetfulness so as not to remember the law and the commandments of God, and the spirit of murder, too, joins in the reckoning if he has at some point defiled himself in blood, and the spirit of love of money, if he has at some point caused him to be rapacious and not to show mercy at all, and the spirit of backbiting, too, judges if he has at some point inflamed him so as to lie unjustly, and the other spirits of the power of darkness join in the reckoning at the gates of the entry to the celestial abodes. This has been told by somebody who has clearly seen it.

Having offered this description of the τελωνισμός the visionary ends his account of the fate of the sinners and begins to describe what happens to the righteous. Their souls are received by angels and pass through the tollgates without being

42 Ephesians 2:2: τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος.
43 Symeon, *Sermo* 22, ed. Cozza-Luzi 113.

held up, eventually arriving before the thrones of Father, Son and Spirit, whom they venerate and from whom they receive their rewards.[44] They will then be accorded a place in Paradise whereas the souls of the sinners remain under the control of demons.[45] There, one can infer, they will remain until the Last Judgement.

This account has a clear pedagogical purpose. Symeon seeks to instil fear in his audience and thus to prevent them from sinning.[46] In order to heighten the impact, he focuses not on the Last Judgement, which will take place in the distant future, but on what happens immediately after death. By presenting the account as a vision, he signals that he has first-hand experience. Doubts about its veracity are thus quelled, at least among those who accept his claim to have privileged knowledge.

It is evident that stories about the tollgates circulated in the monastery of the Wondrous Mountain, either in oral or in written form. That Symeon should have appropriated them is hardly surprising. His sermons abound with 'baroque' visions, which describe the realm of the demons and the heavenly bliss.[47] These visions have in common that they are intensely sensual and full of dramatic action.

The primary audience for Symeon's sermons was undoubtedly his monks and possibly also visitors of his monastery. Yet there is clear evidence that they were read elsewhere as well. In his *Vita* of the Alexandrian patriarch John the Almsgiver, Leontius of Neapolis states that the saint promoted the meditation of death and the departure of the soul as a sure means to induce contrition and then explains that he was particularly fond of 'that which had been said by the holy Symeon the Stylite in a vision'.[48] This vision is then reproduced. As one might expect, the narrative resembles the account in Symeon's twenty-second sermon. Here, too, demons representing the different vices examine whether the souls bear traces of these vices. It is, however, no direct borrowing. The list of vices differs as has already been pointed out by Afentoulidou.[49] Instead of fornication, forgetfulness, murder and backbiting we find pride, backbiting and fornication. Moreover, the loose syntax of the original is tightened. To complicate

44 Symeon, *Sermo* 22, ed. Cozza-Luzi 116.
45 Symeon, *Sermo* 22, ed. Cozza-Luzi 114–115. See also *Sermo* 1, ed. Cozza-Luzi 35.
46 On the function of such texts see Afentoulidou, Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen 39–40.
47 See Symeon, *Sermo* 9, ed. Cozza-Luzi 41–43, *Sermo* 26, ed. Cozza-Luzi 133.
48 Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Merciful*, ed. A. J. Festugière, Vie de Jean de Chypre. Paris 1974, 395–396: τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεῶνος τοῦ στυλίτου δι' ἀποκαλύψεως εἰρημένον. See Marinis, Death and afterlife 17–18.
49 See Afentoulidou, Gesellschaftliche Vorstellungen 21.

matters even further, a vision of Symeon 'the Wondrous' is also transmitted as a separate text.[50] In this case, however, the resemblance with the twenty-second sermon is even less close. Indeed, the text is so different that one cannot exclude that it is a *pseudepigraphon*. Such fluidity is typical for this type of literature. Unlike the writings of the Fathers, which were reproduced with great care, accounts of visions could be adapted or updated according to the preferences of the copyist.

It goes without saying that we cannot simply assume that everyone was interested in such stories or even approved of them. For a start it is noticeable that there is no known treatment of the topic in the high style. This suggests that it was not considered an appropriate topic for writers who belonged to the classically trained elite. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that members of this elite did not read such stories.[51] Yet we have no way of ascertaining whether they did. In the manuscripts the stories appear in the company of other edifying narratives and sermons about penance and the end of the world, which would suggest a monastic readership.

Indeed, we cannot exclude that they were partisan literature. Symeon was a controversial saint. His *Vita* contains many references to people who doubted his claim to be a visionary and a healer.[52] Thus it is not simply a matter of course that Leontius of Neapolis considered him an authority. It rather shows that the two men shared the same worldview. George the Monk in the ninth century also belongs to this group. In the chronicle the story about the *taxeotes* is only one of many of a similar kind.[53] Ever since Gilbert Dagron published his article 'L'ombre d'un doute' we have known that the impression of unquestioning piety and *Wundersucht* that one gains from *Vitae* and *Miracula* distorts reality.[54]

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50 See the Latin translation of the text in M. de la Bigne, Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, VII. Lyon 1687, 1228 A–E, attributed to 'Symeon admirandi', that is, Συμεῶνος τοῦ θαυμασίου. Cf. H. Gelzer, Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Iohannes des Barmherzigen Erzbischofs von Alexandrien. *Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, 5. Freiburg i. Br./Leipzig 1893, 146–148.
51 For a criticism of the traditional distinction between 'elite' and 'popular' literature see M. R. O'Neill, From 'popular' to 'local' religion: issues in early modern European history. *Religious Studies Review* 12 (1986) 222–226; and P. Brown, The cult of saints: its rise and function in Latin Christianity. London 1981, 18–20.
52 See F. Millar, The image of a Christian monk in northern Syria: Symeon Stylites the Younger, in C. Harrison / C. Humfress / I. Sandwell (ed.), Being Christian in late antiquity: a festschrift for Gillian Clark. Oxford 2014, 278–292.
53 De Boor, Vision des Taxeotes 306.
54 G. Dagron, L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, VIe-XIe siècle. *DOP* 46 (1992) 59–68.

During Symeon's lifetime, sometime in the late sixth century, an unnamed author proposed a radically different anthropology. He declared that after death not only the bodies but also the souls were incapable of activity.[55] In the eighth and early ninth century this view seems to have been common among radical Iconoclasts who denied the posthumous activity of saints.[56] Indeed, even an Iconophile, Methodius, the later patriarch, could state in his *Vita Euthymii* that the souls of middling people who were neither very good nor very bad were insensate like blocks of wood until the resurrection.[57] While these texts make no mention of it, it is obvious that such an understanding of the human being leaves no room for an ascent of the soul through the air and a meeting with demons. In reality, matters were not always so clear-cut. Anastasius of Sinai who in his *Quaestiones et responsiones* declares that the souls of ordinary people are comatose after death nevertheless includes the story of the *taxeotes* in his collection of edifying tales.[58] Yet it seems likely that other champions of a 'sleep of the soul' had more coherent views about the afterlife.

Indeed, even those who believed in an active afterlife might well conceptualise it in a radically different fashion. This is evident from a sermon about the vanity of human life, which Andrew of Crete composed in the early eighth century.[59] This text contains a dramatic deathbed scene. We are told that 'brightly shining angels, sceptre-bearers, whose gaze is terrifying' come from above in order to take the soul.[60] This is conventional enough. Yet then the narrative takes an unexpected turn. The bystanders are admonished not to pester the dying with their lamentations.

> Ἄφες αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἔνθα κέκληται. Ἔασον αὐτὸν ὁδεῦσαι τρίβον, ἣν οὐδέπω διώδευσε, καὶ ἧς οὐχ ἀναστρέψει, καὶ ἣν ὁμοίως πάντες, κἂν ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ὁ δὲ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον,

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55 See N. Constas, 'To sleep' (as footnote 17 above) 111; M. Dal Santo, Debating the saints' cult in the age of Gregory the Great. Oxford 2012, esp. 21 – 148.

56 See D. Krausmüller, Contextualising Constantine V's radical religious policies: the debate about the intercession of the saints and the 'sleep of the soul' in the Chalcedonian and Nestorian churches. *BMGS* 39 (2015) 25 – 49.

57 See D. Krausmüller, Sleeping souls and moving corpses: Patriarch Methodius' defence of the cult of saints. *Byzantion* 85 (2015) 143 – 155.

58 Anastasius Sinaita, *Narrationes* A 40 (*CPG* 7758; *BHG* 1318), edited by F. Nau, Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saint Pères du Sinaï. *Oriens Christianus* 2 (1902) 58 – 87. See also B. Flusin, Démons et Sarrasins: L'auteur et le propos des Diègemata stèriktika d'Anastase le Sinaïte. *TM* 11 (1991) 381 – 409.

59 Andrew of Crete, *Sermo 21: In vitam humanam et in defunctos*, *PG* 97, 1268B–1301B (*CPG* 8192). On this text see Th. Nissen, Diatribe und Consolatio in einer christlichen Predigt des achten Jahrhunderts. *Philologus* 92 (1937) 177 – 198, 382 – 385.

60 Andrew, *Sermo* 21, 1284D: ἄγγελοι λαμπροφαεῖς σκηπτροῦχοι κατάπληκτον ὁρῶντες.

ὁδεύσομεν, εἰς γῆν σκοτεινὴν καὶ γνοφεράν, εἰς γῆν σκότου αἰωνίου, οὗ οὐκ ἔστι φέγγος, οὐδὲ ὁρᾶν ζωὴν βροτῶν. Ἔνθα καὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι δεῖ πάντως, καὶ ταύτης πεῖραν λαβεῖν, ὁμοίως τοῖς εἰς γῆν χώματος καταβαίνουσαν.[61]

Let him depart in peace to where he is called. Let him travel a road, which he has not yet traversed, and *from which he will not return* (Job 10:21), and which we all will likewise travel, one at once and the other after a little while, *to a dark and murky land, to the land of eternal darkness, were there is no light and one cannot see the life of mortals* (Job 10:21–22). There we must certainly be, and experience it, *like those who descend into the land of earth* (Ps-Jeremiah).

Here Andrew avers that the dead will go to a dark place, an underworld where no light is seen. In order to drive home this point he quotes two verses from the Book of Job. There it is claimed that all the dead descend to Sheol, regardless of whether they are righteous or sinners. This understanding of the afterlife is frequently encountered in the Old Testament.[62] It is, however, rarely found in Byzantine texts. Indeed, even commentators of the Book of Job tried to explain it away. Olympiodorus, for example, maintains that Job did not believe that the righteous would go to such a place and that he only imagined what would happen if he died in sin, 'fearing that … he be counted with the impious in Hades who live in eternal darkness'.[63] Such a prospect was anything but comforting, a fact of which Andrew was fully aware. He declares that his audience should not complain because Jesus also descended to the realm of the dead.[64] And he points out that the righteous will eventually be transported from the underworld into heaven.

Μηδὲ εἰ νεκρῶν ὁ ᾅδης σκοτεινόν ἐστιν οἰκητήριον, ἀπογνωστέον τοὺς αὐτόσε καθιεμένους, ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ νυκτὸς ἔργα μὴ φέροιεν μηδὲ τῷ ζόφῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἑάλωσαν, εὐθυμεῖν χρή, μὴ ὅτι τὰ ἐν ᾅδου στυγηρὰ διέφυγον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἀνύκτερον ἐκεῖνο φῶς αὐτοὺς διαδέξεται, ᾧ φανεροῦται καὶ διαγινώσκεται τὰ ἡμέτερα.[65]

Nor must one despair for those who have been cast down there if Hades is a dark dwelling-place of the dead, but if they do not bear the works of the night and are not caught by the

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61 Andrew, *Sermo* 21, 1285AB:. For Pseudo-Jeremiah (Logion 45), see A. Resch, Agrapha: aussercanonische Schriftfragmente. 2nd edition, Darmstadt 1967, 320–322.
62 Cf. e. g. G. Fohrer, Das Geschick des Menschen nach dem Tode im Alten Testament, in: Studien zu alttestamentlichen Texten und Themen (1966–72). Berlin / New York 1981, 188–202.
63 Olympiodorus, *Commentary on Job*, ed. U. Hagedorn / D. Hagedorn, Olympiodor, Diakon von Alexandrien, Kommentar zu Hiob. *Patristische Texte und Studien*, 24. Berlin / New York 1984, 109: δέδοικε … μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ καταλεχθῇ οἵτινες τὸ αἰώνιον οἰκοῦσι σκότος.
64 Andrew, *Sermo* 21, *PG* 97, 1283C.
65 Andrew, *Sermo* 21, *PG* 97, 1288C.

murk of sin, one must be of good cheer, not because they have escaped the unpleasantness in Hades but because the nightless light will receive them through which our affairs are made manifest and recognised.

The relative clause at the end of the sentence refers to the Last Judgement when the deeds of each one will be made manifest.

Such an understanding of the afterlife is irreconcilable with the scenario that Symeon sketched in his twenty-second sermon. Indeed, Andrew explicitly excludes such a scenario when he declares.

Τοῦ τρόπου δειχθέντος κατ᾽ ἐπιδρομὴν τῆς ἐν ᾅδου κατὰ περίοδον τῶν ψυχῶν διελεύσεως, δεῦρο οὖν, τῶν εἰρημένων ἀφέμενος, ἄνθρωπε, τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου σώματος διδάσκου διάλυσιν, μὴ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρεύνα κατάστασιν μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἔξοδον, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ ταῦτα ζητεῖν. Ἄλλος γὰρ ὁ ταῦτα εἰδώς. [66]

After the manner in which the souls traverse Hades on a circuit has been shown in cursory fashion, now, then, man, be instructed about the dissolution of our body, do not examine the state of the soul after the departure from the body, because to inquire after it is neither my business nor yours. For it is someone else who knows this.

It is difficult to gauge how common this view was during Andrew's lifetime. It is true that we find no parallels in other contemporary texts. Yet this may not mean much as literary production was very limited in the early eighth century. Indeed, none of the narratives about the ascent of the soul through the air can be securely dated to these years. In any case, we must not forget that Andrew was not an isolated figure. He belonged to the ecclesiastical elite of the capital and may well have shared his beliefs with at least some of his peers.[67] Moreover, it is worth noting that the text was frequently copied in the following centuries. The *Pinakes* of the *IHRT* list more than seventy manuscripts, twenty-three of which predate 1204.

The champions of a 'sleep of the soul' and Andrew of Crete have in common that their conceptions of the afterlife leave no room for an examination of the soul by bands of demons. Other authors accept that some sort of examination takes place. Yet this does not necessarily mean that they accord it much significance or describe it in much detail. A case in point is Theodore, the abbot of the

66 Andrew, *Sermo* 21, *PG* 97, 1290C.

67 On Andrew's background see M.-F. Auzépy, La carrière d'André de Crète. *BZ* 88 (1995) 1–12.

Stoudios monastery.[68] In the late eighth and early ninth century Theodore composed sermons in which he exhorted the members of his community to desist from sinning and engage in virtuous behaviour.[69] Three hundred and ten of these texts have come down to us, which makes it possible to establish the relative importance of a given theme.[70]

Theodore denies that the dead 'are shut away in a dark and most evil-smelling place'.[71] Instead, he claims that virtuous monks will be rewarded 'immediately after death, though not perfectly, since the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God'.[72] It needs to be emphasised, however, that this is the only passage in Theodore's sermons where mention is made of an immediate reward or punishment. Elsewhere Theodore only speaks about the eternal bliss and eternal damnation that follows the Last Judgement. The most likely explanation for this reticence is that Theodore chose not to expatiate on things that are not described in the Bible.

That Theodore did not wish his monks to dwell on this theme is evident from lists of topics, which he considered appropriate for meditation. At one point he declares that in order to resist temptation one should think 'about the separation of the body from the soul, about the appearance at the tribunal of Christ, about requital, about the Kingdom of Heaven'.[73] Here death is immediately followed by the Last Judgement. Similar lists are found in other sermons.[74] None of them includes a reference to rewards and punishments given right after death. As a consequence, the 'events' of the afterlife are curiously telescoped. Theodore can say that God's angel is sent from heaven 'in order to liberate us from the fetters of the

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68 On Theodore, see Th. PRATSCH, Theodoros Studites (759 – 826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma. Der Abt des Studiosklosters in Konstantinopel im Spannungsfeld von Patriarch, Kaiser und eigenem Anspruch. *Berliner Byzantinistische Studien*, 4. Frankfurt a. M. 1998.

69 See R. CHOLIJ, Theodore the Stoudite. The ordering of holines. Oxford 2002, esp. 206 – 240.

70 Theodore, *Small Catechesis*, ed. E. AUVRAY, Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Studitis praepositi parva catechesis. Paris 1891 (henceforth *PC*); Theodore, *Large Catechesis*, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου μεγάλη κατήχησις. St Petersburg 1904 (henceforth *MK*); ed. J. COZZA-LUZI, Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones magnae catecheseos. *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, 9/2. Rome 1888 (henceforth MC_1); ed. J. COZZA-LUZI, Sancti Theodori Studitae sermones reliqui magnae catecheseos. *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* 10/1. Rome 1905 (henceforth MC_2).

71 *MK* 36, 264: ὡς ἐν ζοφερῷ καὶ δυσωδεστάτῳ χωρίῳ κατακλειόμενοι.

72 *MK* 36, 265: εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν, κἂν οὐ τελείως, ἐπειδὴ ψυχαὶ δικαίων ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου.

73 *PC* 11, ed. AUVRAY, 41 – 42: περὶ διαζεύξεως τοῦ σώματος ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, περὶ τῆς τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραστάσεως, περὶ ἀνταποδόσεως, περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν.

74 See *MK* 107, 786 – 787; *MK* 114, 841 – 842; *MK* 124, 928 – 929; MC_1 14, 38 – 39.

prison of the body and lead us away to the God who has created us and fashioned us as living beings' as if the Last Judgement would follow immediately after death.[75] It is in this framework that we need to assess Theodore's approach to the examination of the souls by demons. Again lists of topics suitable for contemplation can serve as a starting point. The more elaborate among them provide us with information about the fate of the soul:

> Εἰ γὰρ καὶ οὕτω ἐπιγινομένων ἡμῶν καὶ διεγειρόντων καὶ ἀναμνηματιζόντων τὰ περὶ θανάτου, τὰ περὶ μεταστάσεως, τὰ περὶ ὑπαντήσεως ἀγγέλων, τὰ περὶ παραστάσεως τοῦ φοβεροῦ κριτηρίου, τὰ περὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν, τὰ περὶ κρίσεως ἀτελευτήτου πυρὸς καὶ δίκης ἐξωτέρας μόγις τῇ ἀντιστάσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου διαβόλου περικρατεῖς τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ καταστάσεως γινόμεθα, πῶς ἀποσιωπώντων κἂν τὸ τυχὸν καὶ ἐγκοπτόντων τὸν εἱρμὸν τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐσόμεθα.[76]

> For if when we thus come and rouse and remind you of what concerns death, what concerns passing over, what concerns the meeting with the angels, what concerns the standing at the frightful tribunal, what concerns the kingdom of heaven, what concerns the judgement of never-ending fire and the outer punishment, we barely achieve our own salvation and stability because my sins rebel and the devil fights against me, how will we be when we are silent even a little and interrupt the series of the catechesis?

Here death and meeting with the angels is directly followed by the Last Judgement. No reference is made to an encounter with demons. The same pattern is found in several other lists. In one sermon, Theodore moves from 'the departure with angelic fellow-travellers' to 'the attendance of all the world at the frightful tribunal of Christ',[77] and in another he mentions in sequence 'departure from the world, meeting with angels, standing near God, examination of the judge'.[78]

In those cases where he does not list topics, but chronicles the journey of the soul, Theodore can speak of 'the ascent from the earth to heaven together with the angels', without going into further detail.[79] Descriptions can be remarkably vague.

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75 *MC₁* 60, 195: ἵνα λύσῃ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐκ δεσμῶν τῆς φρουρᾶς τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα ἀπαγάγῃ πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα θεὸν καὶ ζωοπλαστήσοντα. Immediately afterwards Theodore speaks about the Last Judgement and the punishments in hell. See also *PC* 33, 123.

76 *MC₁* 48, 132.

77 *MC₁* 52, 143: ἐξόδιον ἀγγελικῶν συμπορευμάτων … παράστασις παγκόσμιός τις ἐπὶ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. See also *PC* 28, 105.

78 *MK* 61, 432: ἡ ἀναχώρησις τοῦ κόσμου, ἡ ἀπάντησις τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἡ παράστασις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ ἀνάκρισις τοῦ κριτοῦ. See also *MK* 34, 235.

79 *MK* 65, 457: τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἄνοδον. Here, too, Theodore then speaks about the Last Judgment.

Οὐ δεδοίκατε τὸν θάνατον, ὃν μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑποστησόμεθα; Πῶς ἴδωμεν τοὺς φοβεροὺς ἀγγέλους ἐρχομένους ἆραι ἡμᾶς τοῦ σώματος; Πῶς ὁδεύσωμεν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην τὴν μακρὰν καὶ ἄπειρον, μὴ τὰ ἐφόδια αὐτῆς κεκτημένοι; Πῶς παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται, ἔχοντες συνειδὸς πονηρόν; Οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη ἀποπεμφθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖ, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, καὶ ὁ σκώληξ οὐ τελευτᾷ, ἔνθα ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.[80]

Do you not fear the death that we will suffer a little later? How we will see the terrifying angels who come to take us from the body? How we will travel that long and endless road, if we do not possess provisions for it? How will we stand at the tribunal of Christ before whom every knee will bend, and every tongue will confess, if we have an evil conscience? Therefore it is necessary that we will be sent there where the fire is not quenched and the worm does not die, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.

No information is given about what happens to the soul on its journey. Only the reference to provisions adds some colour. As we have seen Symeon declared that good deeds were necessary as provisions if one wished to pass the bands of demons. That Theodore is indeed thinking of a similar scenario can be seen from another passage.

Πῶς γοῦν οἴσομεν τὴν ἐπιστασίαν τῶν ἀγγέλων, εἴπερ μὴ ἐνδεδύμεθα τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός; Πῶς δὲ ὁδεύσομεν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην, εἰ μὴ τὰ ἐφόδια τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς συναποφερόμεθα; Πῶς ὑπερβησόμεθα τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, περὶ οὗ ὁ κύριος εἴρηκεν· Ἔρχεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδεν, εἰ μὴ ἐλεύθεροι τῶν δουλοποιῶν παθῶν χρηματίζομεν;[81]

How then will we endure the approach of the angels if we have not clad ourselves in the weapons of light? How will we travel that road, if we do not take with us the provisions of eternal life? How will we pass beyond the ruler of this world, about whom the Lord said: '*The ruler of this world comes and has nothing in me*' (John 14:30), if we are not free from the enslaving passions?

In this instance we find a clear reference to the examination of the soul in the air. Yet even here Theodore refrains from adding picturesque details. He only mentions the 'ruler of this world', no doubt because he could in this case point to a proof text from the Bible.[82] A similar scene is described in another sermon where the *Vita Antonii* serves as proof text.[83]

80 *PC* 103, 354–355.
81 *PC* 132, 461.
82 Already Origen had concluded from John 14:30, that other souls were examined by the ruler of this world. See Marinis, Death and afterlife 16.
83 See Marinis, Death and afterlife 17.

> Ἐγὼ οὖν ὁ τάλας καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μόνος κολάσεως πάσης ἄξιος, φοβοῦμαι καὶ δέδια καὶ τρέμω τὴν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος διάζευξιν, τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων παρουσίαν, καὶ πῶς ὑπερνήξομαι τὸν ἀέρα τόνδε, πῶς καὶ συνάρω λόγον μετὰ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀντωνίου βίῳ.[84]
>
> I, the wretch, who deserves all punishment more than any human being or rather alone, am full of fright, fear and trembling when I consider the separation from the body, the arrival of the holy angels, and how will I swim beyond this air, how I will bandy words with the world-ruler, as is written in the life of the holy Anthony?

Only three descriptions of the journey of the soul are slightly more elaborate. In one case Theodore speaks of 'a meeting with demons'.[85] In another case he declares that the soul of a pious monk 'resists the demons and jumps over the rulers of this world'.[86] And in a third case he likens the examination to a court case:

> Ἔρχονται οἱ μερισταὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, παραγίνεται ὁ ἀντίδικος ἐχθρός. λογοθετεῖται τὰ πρακτέα καὶ ῥητέα.[87]
>
> There come those who separate the soul, there arrives the enemy prosecutor. There is examined what must be done and what must be said.

This is a meagre harvest indeed. What is entirely missing is references to different groups of demons representing different vices. Nor does Theodore detail the tortures that the soul suffers on its way up through the air. This contrasts starkly with his frequent and detailed descriptions of the eternal punishments that follow the Last Judgement.[88] Indeed, it can be argued that Theodore's focus on the end of the world led him to downplay this aspect. Even when he mentions 'most frightful calling to account' and 'inexorable tribunal' side by side it is clear from the context that both phrases refer to the Last Judgement.[89]

This does not mean that Theodore always eschews the picturesque. Once he inserts into one of his sermons an edifying story.

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84 MC_1 2, 5 – 6.
85 *MK* 17, 120 – 121: ἀπαντήσει τε τῶν δαιμόνων. This is preceded by a reference to death, and followed by a reference to the Last Judgement. Cf. *MK* 34, 235.
86 *PC* 4, 14: τοῖς δαιμόσιν ἀντικαθίσταται καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὑπεράλλεται. This is immediately followed by a reference to the Kingdom of Heaven.
87 *MK* 65, 457.
88 See e. g. MC_2 102, 112, *MK* 70, 487, *PC* 8, 27.
89 MC_1 64, 450: τὸ φοβερώτατον λογοθέσιον, τὸ ἀπαραλόγιστον κριτήριον. Cf. PC 5, 15: τὸ φοβερὸν λογοθέσιον ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες παραστησόμεθα γυμνοὶ καὶ τετραχηλισμένοι, which refers to the Last Judgement.

> Λέγουσιν ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν πολυθρύλλητον λογοθέτην Σταυράκιον, ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὢν τῶν τελευταίων ἀναπνοῶν, ἱδρῶν καὶ τρέμων καὶ τρίζων τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐφώνει λίαν ἀδρανῆ, ἀνακαλούμενος τὸ βοηθεῖτε ἐλεᾶτε καὶ κύριε ἐλέησον, ὅσος λαὸς δαιμονικὸς μαῦρος καὶ δυσειδὴς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκβαίνει καὶ ἔρχεται πρός με. πρὸς παραθαλασσίαν ἦν γὰρ κείμενος. καὶ κἂν οἱ παρόντες οὐκ ἐθεώρουν, ἐθεώρει ἐκεῖνος καὶ ᾐσθάνετο καὶ πικρῶς ἐλογοθεῖτο ὁ λογοθετήσας πολλούς.[90]
>
> They say that when the famous accountant Stauracius was about to die and took his last breath, he sweated and trembled and ground his teeth and spoke very feebly, calling out 'Help! Have mercy!' and 'Lord, have mercy, what a great crowd of black and ugly demons rises up from the sea and comes towards me' – for he lay on the shore –, and even if those who were present did not see them, he saw and perceived them and was bitterly called to account, he who had called to account many.

Yet it must be stressed that this is an exceptional case.[91] As a rule Theodore prefers to frighten his monks with the Last Judgement and with Hell, rather than with the examination of the souls in the air.

This raises the question: why is Theodore so much more reserved than Symeon? There can be no doubt that the two men had completely different personalities. Yet one must also ask whether Theodore did not belong to a broader milieu that rejected fanciful accounts of the toll-gates. Unfortunately we possess no other texts from the period that would cast light on an author's understanding of the afterlife. Yet it is worth noting that Patriarch Nicephorus sought to suppress as ungodly the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which contains one of the earliest descriptions of the tollgates.[92] This prohibition was successful because the text has survived in its entirety only in translations into Eastern languages.[93] In addition, Nicephrous also forbade the copying of *Passiones* with outlandish descriptions of

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90 *MK* 59, 422–423. This is the only passage from Theodore's writings that Marinis discusses. See Marinis, Death and afterlife 28. I have translated λογοθέτης as accountant in order to bring out the pun. For the duties of different logothetes in the early ninth century, see J. Haldon / L. Brubaker, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c 680–850. Cambridge 2011, 667, 694–696, 707–708.

91 One could also point out that the event was testified to by the onlookers and thus not just based on hearsay. The same point could be made in the case of the Climax, which contains a similar story but no account ot the tollgates. See Marinis, Death and the Afterlife, 20.

92 Nicephorus, *Canons*, ed. J. B. Pitra, Iuris Ecclesiastici Graecorum Historia et Monumenta, II. Rome 1868, 331.

93 See P. Tóth, New wine in old wineskins: Byzantine reuses of the apocryphal revelation dialogues, in A. Cameron / N. Gaul (ed.), Dialogues and debates from late antiquity to late Byzantium. London / New York 2017, 77–91, esp. 80. See also J. Baun, Tales from another Byzantium: celestial journey and local community in the medieval Greek Apocrypha. Cambridge 2007, 79–91.

the sufferings of martyrs..[94] This negative attitude was shared by another contemporary, Michael the Syncellus. Michael wrote a lengthy *Life* of Dionysius the Areopagite, which combines biographical material gleaned from the *Corpus Pseudo-Dionysiacum* with the information provided by a *Passio* of the saint, which had only recently been translated from the Latin.[95] This latter text contains the famous episode of the *kephalophoria:* it claims that after his execution Dionysius picked up his severed head and ran with it for several miles.[96] This episode, however, remains unmentioned in Michael's metaphrasis.[97] This was without doubt a conscious decision. Michael must have found the miracle *du trop* and of doubtful authenticity. This evidence suggests that in the late eighth and early ninth century the Constantinopolitan elite was rather straight-laced, rejecting colourful narratives for reasons of content and quite possibly also of form.[98] Thus one can argue that Theodore, too, avoided dramatic descriptions of the journey of the soul through the tollgates because he regarded them as a product of the human imagination.

To conclude: It is difficult to gauge the impact of stories about the tollgates in sixth- to ninth-century Byzantium. Two texts that contain graphic descriptions of the ascent of the souls through the air, the second *Visio de sanctis angelis* and the Pseudo-Cyrillian sermon *De exitu animi*, are of uncertain date and provenance. This leaves us with three texts, the *narratio animae utilis* of the *taxeotes*, the sermons of Symeon Stylites the Younger and Leontius of Neapolis' *Vita Iohannis Eleemosynarii*, which all postdate the middle of the sixth century. Thus it is arguable that accounts of the tollgates only became popular during the Byzantine 'dark age'. Even at that time, however, there existed alternative views. Those who believed that the disembodied soul was comatose rejected the very anthropology on which the stories are based. Andrew of Crete insisted that the souls were active but conceptualised the afterlife in such a way that no room was left for dramatic encounters with demons. Theodore of Stoudios accepted that the souls of the deceased were judged but never spoke of bands of evil spirits, which represented different kinds of vices. It seems that at least in the eighth

94 Nicephorus, *Canones* (as footnote 92 above) 332.
95 See R-J. LOENERTZ, Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le Syncelle. *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950) 94 – 107.
96 On this motif see Ch. WALTER, Three notes on the iconography of Dionysius the Areopagite. *REB* 48 (1990) 255 – 274.
97 Michael the Syncellus, *Encomium of Dionysius*, *PG* 4, 617 – 668, esp. 665B – 668C.
98 See K. KRUMBACHER, Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung. *Abh. der Königl. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss. Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse*, 25.3. Munich 1911, 184 – 185.

and early ninth centuries the ecclesiastical elite found the fanciful accounts too much to stomach.

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Asinine tales east and west: the Ass's Confession and the Mule's Hoof

Abstract: This paper examines the two main motifs in the Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου and the Γαδάρου, λύκου κι ἀλουποῦς διήγησις ὡραία: the Ass's Confession and the Mule's Hoof, tracing them back to Medieval western rather than Ancient Aesopic sources. The Appendix deals with the dating and geographical provenance of the common ancestor of these two texts.

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The animal tale Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου (henceforth *Synaxarion*)[1] and its companion piece Γαδάρου, λύκου κι ἀλουποῦς διήγησις ὡραία, also known as Φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου (henceforth *Phyllada*),[2] offer the story of how the Ass, the Fox and the Wolf travel together on a boat where the Fox 'prophesizes' an imminent storm and proposes that they confess their sins to one another: the Wolf and the Fox absolve each other's atrocious deeds but condemn the Ass to death for having once stolen a lettuce leaf; the Ass saves himself by telling the Wolf and the Fox to look under his hoof for a secret gift, then kicking the Wolf in the face and threatening to rape the Fox (a vixen), who then jumps after the Wolf into the water.[3] The storyline is infinitely more complicated than

1 Ed. U. Moennig, Das Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου: Analyse, Ausgabe, Wörterverzeichnis. *BZ* 102 (2009) 109–166.

2 Ed. L. Alexiou, Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Γαδάρου ἤτοι Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλεποῦς διήγησις ὡραία. *Kretika Chronika* 9 (1955) 81–118; see also L. Politis, Παρατηρήσεις σε κρητικά κείμενα. *Kretika Chronika* 12 (1958) 300–320, at 305–313. Since Alexiou's edition is based on later copies, we have compared it with the *editio princeps* (Venice 1539): Münchner Staatsbibliothek 4° Rar. 467.

3 For a synoptic edition of the two texts, see C. Pochert, Die Reimbildung in der spät- und postbyzantinischen Volksliteratur. Cologne 1991, 134–185. For a comparison of the two versions, see A. Markomichelaki, Γαδάρου, λύκου κι αλεπούς διήγησις, in P. Agapitos / M. Pieris (eds.), "Τ' αδόνιν κείνον που γλυκά θλιβάται": εκδοτικά και ερμηνευτικά ζητήματα της δημώδους

we present it here, with a prologue setting the stage, an embedded story about an old lady and her cat, a running gag about the name of the Ass, and hilarious dialogues throughout. Although this briefest of summaries does not do justice to the richness of the story, it at least identifies the two motifs that have been used as proof of its 'Greekness': the confession and the hoof. Whereas previous scholarship associated the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* with the cycle of animal tales that have Reynard the Fox as their main hero (usually without indicating which of these tales exactly was thought to have been the model for the Greek text),[4] the consensus of modern opinion considers the source material to be Greek.[5]

The two motifs are thought to derive from Aesopic fables: the confession from Λύκος καὶ ὄνος δικαζόμενοι (Perry no. 452) and the hoof from Λύκος ἰατρός (Perry no. 187).[6] The first of these two fables is not ancient, but Byzantine. It forms part of a set of progymnasmata that serve as an introduction to the so-called *Rhetorica Marciana* found in three Palaeologan manuscripts, Marc. gr. 444 (s. XIV med.), Marc. gr. 599 (s. XIV med.) and Vat. gr. 899 (a. 1393).[7] We now know that the *Rhetorica Marciana*, traditionally misdated to the late twelfth century, in fact dates from the mid fourteenth century because it explicitly mentions Manuel Philes (died after 1332) as a literary model.[8] As for the progymnasmata, Flusin established that they imitate those by Nikephoros

ελληνικής λογοτεχνίας στο πέρασμα από τον Μεσαίωνα στην Αναγέννηση (1400–1600). Irakleio 2002, 467–483.

4 There are two exceptions. N. Politis, Δημώδη βιβλία, in: idem, Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, vol. I. Athens 1920, 176–195, at 192–193, identified one of the texts that have the motif of the Ass's Confession: the *Poenitentiarius* (see below no. 12). Alexiou, Φυλλάδα του Γαδάρου (as footnote 2 above) 83 identified a number of sixteenth-century texts for the Mule's Hoof: his unacknowledged source of information was Egidio Menagio (= Gilles Ménage), Le origini della lingua italiana (...) colla giunta di modi di dire italiani. Geneva 1685, *Modi* 9 and 34 (no. 20). For an overview of 'Reynardian' interpretations, see P. Vasileiou, Η ελληνικότητα των πηγών του κρητικού έργου *Γαδάρου, λύκου κι αλεπούς διήγησις ωραία*. *Cretan Studies* 6 (1998) 267–285, at 269–270.

5 See D. Pallas, Βυζαντινὸν ὑπέρθυρον τοῦ Μουσείου Κορίνθου. *EEBS* 30 (1960–61) 413–452, at 416–418; Vasileiou, Η ελληνικότητα των πηγών (as footnote 4 above) passim; P. Vasileiou, Ο αισωπικός μύθος *Λύκος και όνος δικαζόμενοι* κύρια πηγή της εξομολόγησης των τριών ζώων στη "Φυλλάδα του Γαδάρου". *Hellenika* 58 (2008) 129–138; Moennig, Συναξάριον (as footnote 1 above) 111–112 and 117–119.

6 Perry = B. E. Perry, Aesopica. Urbana, 1952.

7 For the *Rhetorica Marciana*, see V. de Falco, Trattato retorico bizantino (Rhetorica Marciana). *Atti della Società Ligustica di Scienze e Lettere* 9 (1930) 71–124.

8 See A. Rhoby, Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung, I. *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, 15. Vienna 2009, 39, note 14, and W. Hörandner, Pseudo-Gregorios Korinthios, Über die vier Teile der perfekten Rede. *Medioevo Greco* 12 (2012) 87–131, at 129.

Basilakes, [9] and we happened to note that the fable Λύκος καὶ ὄνος δικαζόμενοι alludes to the *Σχέδη Μυός* – another school text from around 1150.[10] The compiler of the *Rhetorica Marciana* may very well be the author of the progymnasmata, but even if he is not, it is clear that the fable dates from after c. 1150 and is therefore not as 'Aesopic' as most Aesopic fables. The title given to this fable by Perry is misleading because the Wolf and the Ass are not on trial, but confessing their sins to one another: another indication that the fable cannot be ancient. The way these two animals confess looks distinctly un-Byzantine to us: in the orthodox world, confession is an intimate conversation with one's spiritual father, not a public display of sinfulness or a cross-examination by a stern confessor, and the emphasis is on contrition (a 'subjective' stance) rather than absolution (an 'objective' response). Although the text is presented as a μῦθος (one of the progymnasmata in the Byzantine school curriculum), its length, argumentative style and use of dialogues render the fable atypical of Aesop. One could argue that this is simply a matter of rhetorical elaboration; one could also argue that this is not a fable at all, but a longer animal tale such as we find in the West. [11]

The other fable adduced as proof of the innate 'Greekness' of the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* at least has good Aesopic credentials. It is the story of the Ass asking the Wolf not to kill him straightaway, but first to remove a thorn from his hoof: when the Wolf agrees and goes to inspect the hoof, the Ass kicks him in the face. The problem is that this Aesopic fable has just two protagonists, not three. The same goes for the other not-so-Aesopic fable: it is the story of the Wolf and the Ass, but where is the Fox? East and West share many stories about the Fox (and the Wolf and the Ass), but the Fox confessing his sins is not one of them. The East may not know the story, but the West certainly does. In the *Roman de Renart*/*Van den vos Reynaerde*/*Reinhart Fuchs* (to name just three of the multiple and multilingual versions of this beast epic), the Fox cannot get enough of either owning up to, or exculpating himself from, horrible

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9 See B. Flusin, L'*ekphrasis* d'un baptistère byzantin. *TM* 15 (2005) 163 – 181, at 165 – 167.
10 Compare the beginning of the fable (Ch. Walz, Rhetores graeci, vol. I. Stuttgart 1832, 597.6): ὡς οὖν ἐντὸς τῶν ἰδίων ἀρκύων ἀναμφιλέκτως ἐκεῖνον εἶχε, with the beginning of the second schedos (M. Papathomopoulos, Του σοφωτάτου κυρού Θεοδώρου του Προδρόμου τα Σχέδη του Μυός. *Parnassos* 24 (1979) 377 – 399, at 397.47 [readings of mss MLP]): ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνον εἶχεν ἐντὸς τῶν ἀρκύων.
11 For the distinction between fables and animal tales, see J. Mann, From Aesop to Reynard: beast literature in medieval Britain. Oxford 2009, 44 – 45. F. R. Adrados, History of the Graeco-Latin fable. 3 vols. Leiden 2003, vol. III, 499 (at no. not-H 193), reaches a similar conclusion: 'The closest parallels (for Perry no. 452) are in the medieval fable tradition, cf. M 271' (M 271 is the motif of the Ass's confession discussed below). See also below footnote 35.

crimes. In fact, the Fox's reputation as a master in the art of tearful confession and feigned apology even gave rise to a proverbial expression in Medieval Latin and Old French: *Confessio Reynardi* and *Confession Renart*.[12] As we will show, there is ample evidence for the motifs of the Ass's Confession and the Mule's Hoof, with all three protagonists taking part in the action, in Medieval Latin and the vernacular languages of Western Europe.

The Ass's Confession

The oldest versions of the Ass's Confession[13] include fable collections, *promptuaria exemplorum* (collections of rhetorical exempla), and sermons delivered by members of the mendicant orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians) – and one animal tale.[14] Let us begin with the storyline in the fables, the exempla and the sermons. King Lion holds court or, in the 'mendicant' versions, convenes a *capitulum* ('chapter', an assembly of monks). The Wolf, the Fox and the Ass have been summoned to appear before him. Both Wolf and Fox confess to acts of pitiless slaughter, but King Lion readily absolves them for reasons that vary from source to source (the usual argument is that these acts are only natural).

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12 For the term *Confessio Reynardi*, see, for instance, Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/70 – 1240), ed. T. F. Crane, The Exempla or illustrative stories from the *Sermones Vulgares* of Jacques de Vitry. London 1890, 125 (no. 297). For the French equivalent, see B. Librová, Une contribution à la description lexicologique des locutions françaises médiévales: *Confession Renart*. *Sbornik Prací Filozofické Fakulty Brněnské Univerzity* 26 (2005) 61 – 75.

13 For the motif of the Ass's Confession, see S. Thompson, Motif-index of folk literature, 6 vols. Copenhagen 1955 – 58, no. U.11.1. Motif U.11.1 corresponds with F.C. Tubach, Index Exemplorum: A handbook of medieval religious tales. Helsinki 1969, nos. 397 and 3053; Perry no. 628; Adrados no. M 271; and G.-J. van Dijk, Aesopica posteriora: medieval and modern versions of Greek and Latin fables, 2 vols. Genoa 2015, no. 148. In the Aarne-Thompson classification system, *motif* U.11.1 does not correspond with any *type:* A. Aarne / S. Thompson, The types of the folktale: a classification and bibliography. Helsinki 1961.

14 For the sources, see K. McKenzie, Italian fables in verse. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 21 (1906) 226 – 278, at 271 – 273; G. Dicke / K. Grubmüller, Die Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: ein Katalog der deutschen Versionen und ihrer lateinischen Entsprechungen. Munich 1987, 637 – 641 (no. 558); and Mann, From Aesop to Reynard (as footnote 11 above) 38 – 39 and note 47. See also studies of the sources of La Fontaine no. VII.1 which, too, has this motif: A. Joly, Histoire de deux fables de La Fontaine. *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen* 1877, 399 – 552; H. Regnier, Œuvres de J. de la Fontaine, vol. II. Paris 1884, 88 – 94; L. Sozzi, Un intarsio invisibile: "Les animaux malades de la peste", in R. Galli Pellegrini et al. (eds), La "Guirlande" di Cecilia: Studi in onore di Cecilia Rizza. Fasano 1996, 149 – 165.

Misled by this charitable attitude towards sinning, the Ass confesses to a trivial misdemeanour: once he ate (i) a herb or a lettuce leaf, (ii) a straw sticking out of the padding of someone's shoe, or (iii) a few pieces of hay that had fallen to the ground. His confession is greeted with shocked outrage, and he is punished by death. For the sources (up to the year 1500), see:

(1) Romulus Bernensis (13th c.): L. HERVIEUX (ed.), Les Fabulistes Latins depuis le siècle d'Auguste jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge, 5 vols. Paris 1893 – 99, vol. II, 313: no. 39.

(2) Guibert of Tournai (c. 1240 – 1280): Guilliberti Tornacensis sermones ad status diversos pertinentes. Lyon, c. 1477, sine pagina: *Ad canonicos regulares sermo.*

(3) Nicholas Bozon (shortly after 1320): L. TOULMIN-SMITH / P. MEYER (eds), Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon frère mineur. Paris 1889, 10 – 11: no. 4 (Anglo-Norman French) and 197 – 198: no. 4 (Latin); cf. A. WESSELSKI, Mönchslatein: Erzählungen aus geistlichen Schriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig 1908, 71 and 220 – 222: no. 61.

(4) Anonymous, *Song of the Times* (early 14th c.): A.M. LUCAS (ed.), Anglo-Irish Poems of the Middle Ages. Dublin 1995, 130 – 135, vv. 45 – 124.

(5) *Promptuarium Exemplorum* (Paris, c. 1322): K. WARNKE (ed.), Die Fabeln der Marie de France. Halle 1898, lxiv: no. 3.

(6) Robert Holkot (1290 – 1349), *Super sapientiam Salomonis*. Paris 1489, R.iiii^{r}: cap. XVII, lectio 187.

(7) John Bromyard (died c. 1352), *Summa Praedicantium*. Venice 1586, 159^{r}: *Correctio*, cap. XVI.36.

(8) St Bernardino of Siena (1427): F. ZAMBRINI (ed.), Novellette, esempi morali e apologhi di San Bernardino da Siena. Bologna 1868, 20 – 27: no. 9.

(9) Gabriel Barletta (died after 1480): *Sermonum celeberrimi* (…) Gabrielis Barlettae, vol. I. Venice 1571, 68^{v}.

(10) Gottschalk Hollen (c. 1411 – 1481), *Sermonum opus exquisitissimum*, 2 vols. Hagenau 1517, vol. II, O.5^{r}.

(11) Jean Raulin (1443 – 1514), *Itinerarium Paradisi* (…) magistri Joannis Raulin. Paris 1524, E.viii^{v}: *sermo xiv de penitentia*.

As one can see, the oldest testimonies for this particular take on the Ass's Confession date to the thirteenth century. There is no reason to assume that it is much older since the assembly of animals is clearly a Reynardian feature (the Anglo-Norman version of Bozon (no. 3) even calls the fox 'Renaud' and the ass 'Baudewyn' (Baudoin), just as in the Reynard cyclus) and, as Foulet has established, the oldest branches of the *Roman de Renart* date to the last quarter of

the twelfth century.[15] Furthermore, the mendicant movement does not take off until the early thirteenth century, and the fable's critique of confessors willing to pardon the trespasses of the powerful while treating the poor harshly, appears to be directed against the secular clergy and form part of the friars' arsenal of arguments for taking over confession in local parishes.[16]

The motif of the Ass's Confession itself, however, must predate the thirteenth century because it can already be found in an extended animal tale composed in Flandres around the year 1200: the *Poenitentiarius (Asini)* or *Brunellus*.[17] The plot of the *Poenitentiarius* is similar to that of the 'Reynardian' exemplum used by the friars in their sermons, but with one significant difference: King Lion has disappeared from the scene. The animals are gathered to confess their sins on a solemn feast day and the Wolf, though a penitent himself, presides over this assembly. He confesses his many wrongdoings, shrives the Fox and pardons him, and then hears the confession of the Ass and condemns him to death – a verdict he immediately executes with the help of the Fox. Though it is unclear what the social and political context might be of a gathering of animals outside the confines of the court, the elimination of King Lion serves to focus on the three principal characters: the Wolf, the Fox and the Ass. Ps. Odo of Cheriton offers the same scenario, but in the form of a short fable.

(12) *Poenitentiarius/Brunellus* (c. 1200): E. Voigt (ed.), Kleinere lateinische Denkmäler der Thiersage aus dem zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Strasbourg 1878, 81–106.

(13) Ps. Odo of Cheriton (15th c.): Hervieux (ed.), Les Fabulistes Latins, vol. IV, 255: no. 81.

The next phase in the development of the motif omits the assembly of animals altogether. The Wolf, the Fox and the Ass are on a journey and the reason they confess their sins is not because they have been summoned to court, but because of (feigned) religious stirrings. In an absolutely marvellous tale embedded in *Der*

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15 L. Foulet, Le Roman de Renard. Paris 1914, 100–119.

16 The criticism can backfire, of course. In one of his poems, Robert Henryson (late 15th c.) uses the motif of the Fox's feigned apology (see footnote 12 above) to criticize the mendicant friars for offering absolution to just anyone: see J. B. Friedman, Henryson, the Friars, and the "Confessio Reynardi". *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 66 (1967) 550–561. For the conflict between the friars and the clergy, see J. Moorman, A history of the Franciscan order from its origins to the year 1517. Oxford 1968, 93–94, 121–122, 181–184 and 363–364, and M. Robson, The Franciscans in the Middle Ages. Woodbridge 2006, 48–57.

17 For the date and location, see E. Voigt, Kleinere lateinische Denkmäler der Thiersage aus dem zwölften bis vierzehnten Jahrhundert. Straßburg 1878, 23–34. For further information on this text, see G. Mombello, La *Confessio Lupi, Vulpis et Asini* du ms. 0210 de *l'Accademia delle Scienze* de Turin. *Reinardus* 11 (1998) 117–129.

Renner, a long didactic poem by Hugo von Trimberg (c. 1300), the three animals are on a pilgrimage to Rome. When they reach Rome, they decide to confess their sins because the pope is too busy to hear confession (or so the Fox says). What follows is the usual story: Wolf and Fox get off scot-free, the Ass is punished. The tale of von Trimberg is a German classic: it gave rise to adaptations (see no. 15) and, through a translation into Neo-Latin, was used by protestant authors as an argument against confession and remission of sins.[18]

(14) Hugo von Trimberg (c. 1300): G. Ehrismann (ed.), Der Renner von Hugo von Trimberg, 4 vols. Tübingen 1908 – 12 (repr. Berlin 1970), vol. I, 142 – 147, vv. 3455 – 3575.

(15) Anonymous, *Die beichtenden Tiere* (14th c.): J. von Lassberg (ed.), Lieder Saal, das ist: Sammelung altteutschen Gedichte, vol. I. Eppishausen 1820, 265 – 266: no. 36.

Pilgrimage is not the only motive for confessing one's sins, fear of death is another. In a Ps. Avianian fable, the Wolf, the Dog (!) and the Ass are in the forest where they fear for their lives and decide to confess before it is too late; the rest of the story is the usual one. In one of his sermons, Pelbart of Temesvár recounts how the Lion (!), the Wolf and the Ass wish to cross a river but are unable to unmoor their boat, for which, they think, the worst offender among them is to blame: as usual, the Ass is the victim. In two Italian sources, an anonymous Florentine sonnet and a fable by the eminent humanist Filelfo, the Wolf, the Fox and the Ass, sailing for trading purposes, are caught out at sea when a storm hits them: as they see it as a sign of God's wrath, they decide that the one who has committed the gravest sin should be put overboard, and that is the Ass.

(16) Anonymi Avianicae fabulae (15th c.): Hervieux (ed.), Les Fabulistes Latins, vol. III, 349 – 50: no. 42.

(17) Pelbart of Temesvár (1430 – 1504): L. Katona (ed.), Temesvári Pelbárt Példái: székfogagló értekezés. Budapest 1902, 39 – 40: no. 3.

18 The translation is by Heinrich Bebel: In hoc libro continentur haec Bebeliana opuscula nova (…). Straßburg 1508, D.v^{v}–vi^{v}; cf. A. Wesselski, Heinrich Bebels Schwänke, 2 vols. Munich 1907, vol. I, 59 – 61. Bebel's version was used as protestant propaganda by Burkard Wallis (1548), Erasmus Alber (1550) and Johann Gast (1566): J. Tittmann (ed.), Esopus von Burchard Waldis, 2 vols. Leipzig 1882, vol. II, 130 – 138: no. IV, 1; W. Braune (ed.), Die Fabeln des Erasmus Alberus. Halle 1892, 47 – 55: no. 11; J. Gast, Sermones convivales (…). Basel 1566, vol. I, 158 – 160. The *Poenitentiarius* (no. 12) was likewise used against the Church of Rome during the Reformation: see Matthias Flacius Illyricus (=Matija Vlačić), Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata. Basel 1557, 199 – 214.

(18) Anonymous Florentine sonnet (c. 1400): K. McKenzie (ed.), Italian Fables in Verse. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 21 (1906) 226–278, at 242–243: no. 8a.

(19) Philelphi Fabulae. Venice 1480, 8v–9v: no. 18; French translation: J. Baudoin, Les fables d'Ésope Phrygien et celles de Philelphe, 2 vols. Paris 1683, vol. II, 61–63: no. 12.

The version of the Ass's Confession in the last two sources is very close to that of the *Phyllada:* the animals are crossing the sea on a boat; the object of their journey is trade; they confess their sins because of a storm; and the Ass is not killed and devoured, but drowned. The *Synaxarion* leaves out the drowning, probably because it is ridiculous (in the *Phyllada*, vv. 425–434, the Wolf and the Fox plan first to drown the Ass, then drag his body ashore and then invite the other wild animals to butcher the meat, which makes little sense). It also leaves out the references to trade (cf. *Phyllada*, vv. 129–132, 161 and 168). The most likely explanation for the fact that the *Synaxarion* does not have all the details of the Italian version of the Ass's Confession whereas the *Phyllada* offers the full story is that both texts ultimately go back to a common Greek exemplar. The source text was thoroughly reworked by the author of the *Synaxarion* whereas the editor of the *Phyllada* kept the storyline more or less intact in his rhymed version.[19]

The Mule's Hoof

The Mule's Hoof[20] is the story of how the Fox encounters a Mule and asks him for his name; after a series of evasive answers, the Fox is finally told that if he really wants to know what the Mule is called, he should look under his hoof; suspecting deceit, the Fox goes to the Wolf and tells him there is a strange creature nearby; when the Wolf sees the Mule, he asks him for his name, receives the

19 For the relation between the two texts, see Vasileiou, Ελληνικότητα (as footnote 4 above) 267–268.

20 For the motif of the Name Written on the Mule's Hoof, see Perry no. 693, Adrados no. M 273, and Van Dijk no. 978. In the motif-index of Thompson, this motif is curiously missing; but cf. no. J.1608 (Charter Written on the Mule's Hoof) = Tubach no. 3432 = Perry no. 638 = Adrados no. M 56 = Van Dijk no. 153. In the Aarne-Thompson classification system, motif J.1608 corresponds to type no. 47E; in the updated version of Uther, type no. 47E is now thought to fall under type no. 47B: H.-J. Uther, The types of international folktales: a classification and bibliography, 3 vols. Helsinki, 2004.

same evasive answers, and is told to inspect the Mule's hoof, which he does, only to be kicked right in the face.[21] For the sources (up to the year 1500), see:

(1) Baldo, *Novus Aesopus* (late 12th or early 13th c.): A. Hilka (ed.), Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters. Berlin 1928, 55 – 56: no. 34.

(2) *Romulus Bernensis* (13th c.): Hervieux (ed.), Les Fabulistes Latins, vol. II, 304: no. 8.

(3) Anonymous Italian fable (c. 1325): A. Conte (ed.), Il Novellino. Rome 2001, 151: no. 94 (the collection is also known as *Le ciento novelle antike* after its first edition (Bologna 1525)).

(4) Bono Stoppani da Como (c. 1360): not edited, but see A. Oldrini, L'ultimo favolista medievale: frate Bono Stoppani da Como e le sue *Fabulae mistice declaratae*. *Studi Medievali* 2 (1906 – 07) 155 – 218, at 188 and 216, for information on fable no. 103.

(5) Anonymous Florentine sonnet (c. 1400): McKenzie (ed.), Italian Fables in Verse, 246 – 247: no. 11.

(6) Franco de Amelia (mid 15th c.): C.E. Finch (ed.), Aesopica in cod. Pal. Lat. 1378. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 108 (1978) 55 – 67, at 64 – 65: no. 5.

(7) *Romulus Monacensis* (15th c.): Hervieux (ed.), Les Fabulistes Latins, vol. II, 272 – 273: no. 26; see also A. Hilka, Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Fabelliteratur. *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 91.4 (1913) 1 – 38, at 10 – 11: no. 22.

(8) Heinrich Steinhöwel, *Ulmer Aesop* (1476): H. Österley (ed.), Steinhöwels Äsop. Tübingen 1873, 192 – 194: no. 81 = Extravagantes Esopi no. 1 (the 'Ulmer Aesop' was translated into French by Julien Macho in 1480, and from French into English by William Caxton in 1484).

(9) Philelphi Fabulae, 11^v–12^v: no. 25; French translation: Baudoin, Les fables d'Ésope Phrygien et celles de Philelphe, II, 67 – 70: no. 13 (in Filelfo's version, the Mule has become a Horse).

Most of the sources are Italian. We know that Steinhöwel (no. 8) derived many of his fables from Italian sources, such as Poggio Bracciolini, and it is reasonable to assume that this is also true in the case of the hoof motif. The two *Romuli* (nos. 2 and 7), however, are German, which indicates that the story will have had a wider geographical spread than Italy alone. The popularity of this tale in Italy is underlined by the fact that the sneering remark of the Fox to the Wolf at the very end, when the latter, trying to decipher the name of the Mule on his hoof, is kicked in the face, became a proverbial expression in early modern Ital-

21 For the sources, see McKenzie, Italian fables (as footnote 14 above) 274 – 275; Dicke / Grubmüller, Fabeln (as footnote 14 above) 494 – 496: no. 412B. See also Regnier, Œuvres (as footnote 14 above) vol. II 292 – 293, for the sources of La Fontaine no. XII.17, which, too, has this motif.

ian: 'ogn' uomo che sa lettere, non è savio' or 'tutti quei ch' anno lettere, non sono savi' ('not all men of letters are wise').[22]

The motif of the Mule's Hoof is a combination of two older stories: the Aesopic fable Λύκος ἰατρός (Perry no. 187) in which the Wolf is kicked in the face when he extracts a thorn from the hoof of the Ass, and an Arabic anecdote about the Mule who, when the Fox inquires after his pedigree, refuses to tell who his father is although he is happy to disclose that his uncle is a noble steed.[23] The Arabic anecdote was translated into Latin by Petrus Alfonsi, a converted Spanish Jew, in one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages, the *Disciplina Clericalis* (early 12th c.), and this version or later adaptations can be found in numerous medieval texts.[24] The combination of the Aesopic fable and the Arabic anecdote led to two different stories in which the motif of the Mule's Hoof appears: (i) Wolf, Fox and Mule (discussed above) and (ii) Fox and Mule (here the victim is the Fox): many sources, the oldest of which are the sermons of Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160/70 – 1240).[25]

It is worth noting that the oldest witnesses for both versions, Baldo and Jacques de Vitry, have a connection with the Arab world. Many of Baldo's fables derive from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* which he read in Arabic, not in Latin translation, and he may have had access to other as yet unidentified Arabic sources as well.[26] Jacques de Vitry was bishop of Acre from 1214 to 1225 and it stands to reason that he acquired some of his exempla while in the East.[27] A modern folktale recorded among the Berbers of Kabylia offers the motif of the Mule's Hoof with more or

22 See Menagio, Modi (as footnote 4 above) 9 (no. 20).
23 See A. Conte, Il Novellino. Rome 2001, 381 – 382.
24 Ed. A. Hilka / W. Söderhjelm, Die Disciplina clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi. Heidelberg 1911, 9: no. 4, lines 31 – 35. For later sources, see A. Wesselski, Mönchslatein: Erzählungen aus geistlichen Schriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts. Leipzig 1908, 245 – 247: no. 130; A.H. Krappe, Les sources du *Libro de Exemplos*. *Bulletin Hispanique* 39 (1937) 5 – 54, at 30: no. 199; Dicke / Grubmüller, Fabeln (as footnote 14 above) 493 – 494: no. 412 A.
25 Ed. Crane, Exempla (as footnote 12 above) 13 – 14 and 147 – 148: no. 33; see G. Frenken, Die Exempla des Jacob von Vitry. Munich 1914, 38 – 40. The motif of the Fox and the Mule occurs regularly in collections of exempla: see, for instance, J. A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, vol. III. London 1910, 556: no. 204 (14th c.); and E. F. J. Droncke, Fabeln und Erzählungen. *Anzeiger für Kunde der teutschen Vorzeit* 5 (1836) 451 – 454, at 452: no. 3 (14th-15th c.).
26 See A. Hilka, Beiträge zur lateinischen Erzählungsliteratur des Mittelalters. Berlin 1928, 2 and 5 – 19; J. Stohlmann, Orient-Motive in der lateinischen Exempla-Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, in A. Zimmermann / I. Craemer-Ruegenberg (eds), Orientalische Kultur und Europäisches Mittelalter. Berlin / New York 1985, 123 – 150, at 129 – 130.
27 See Wesselski, Mönchslatein (as footnote 24), XXVII–XXVIII; Frenken, Exempla (as footnote 25 above) 61 – 67.

less the same storyline as we find in our medieval sources (except that the three animals are the Lion, the Jackal and the Mule).[28] Although it cannot be categorically excluded that the Berber folktale was imported from the West, it makes more sense to assume that Baldo and Jacques de Vitry made use of a fully developed oriental tale in which the Aesopic fable and the Arabic anecdote had already merged.

Later versions of the story of the Mule's Hoof include Perry no. 638, in which the Ass tells the Wolf and the Fox that he is excused from attending court and that he has a charter on his hoof to prove it (the Fox foolishly believes the Ass and is badly hurt), and two Reynardian adaptations. *Renart le Contrefait* (dating from 1322) recounts how the Mare tells the Wolf that he cannot have her colt unless it is first baptized and that the baptismal name is written on her hoof: the Fox excuses himself because of bad eyesight, the Wolf bends over to decipher the name and is kicked in the face.[29] In *Reinaerts Historie*, a fifteenth-century reworking of the Flemish masterpiece *Van den vos Reynaerde*, the Wolf is told that the price for the purchase of the colt is written on the hoof of the Mare: the Fox pretends that he cannot read, the Wolf eagerly shows his reading skills and pays the price for it.[30]

The common exemplar of the *Synaxarion* and the *Phyllada* made two changes to the story of the Mule's Hoof. The first is insignificant: as it combined this motif with that of the Ass's Confession, it changed the mule into an ass. The second change is more radical: whereas, in the western tradition, the Mule invites the Wolf and the Fox to inspect his hoof and to read his name there (or a charter or a price tag), in the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* the Ass tells the Wolf and the Fox that he has a secret gift: whoever sees his golden shoe (*Synaxarion*) / his hoof (*Phyllada*), foresees imminent dangers. The joke here is that the Ass, had he had that miraculous gift of foresight, would never have fallen into the

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28 See J. Rivière, Recueil de contes populaires de la Kabylie du Djurdjura. Paris 1882, 141–142: no. 4; R. Basset, Nouveaux contes berbères. Paris 1897, 43–44: no. 83; C. Lacoste, Traduction des légendes et contes merveilleux de la grande Kabylie, recueillis par Auguste Mouliéras, 2 vols. Paris 1965, II 177–179: no. 18. For further Berber sources, see H.M. El-Shamy, Types of the folktale in the Arab world. Bloomington, In. 2004: type no. 47E.

29 G. Raynaud / H. Lemaître (eds), Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait, 2 vols. Paris 1914, II 241–243.

30 P. Wackers (ed.), Reinaert in tweevoud, vol. II: Reinaerts Historie. Amsterdam 2002, 180–184, vv. 3990–4109. A prose version of *Reinaerts Historie* was translated into English by William Caxton in 1481 (*The Historye of Reynart the Foxe*); and the original metrical version, somewhat reworked, was translated into Low German in 1498 (*Reynke de Vos*): both translations offer the story of the Wolf, the Fox and the Mare.

clutches of the Wolf and the Fox in the first place, because he would have seen them coming.

In truth, however, the motif of the Mule's/Ass's name has not wholly disappeared in the *Synaxarion* and the *Phyllada*. When the animals meet and the Ass attempts to scare them off with a story about how fearsome a huntsman his master is, the Fox tells him off, saying that the Ass is rightly called a γάδαρος because of his physical deformities and boorish nature (*Synaxarion*, vv. 51–55). This is an implicit reference to the common paretymology of the Arabic loanword γάιδαρος: namely, ἀείδαρος, 'always-beaten'.[31] However, when the Fox and the Wolf finally realize that the Ass has outwitted them, they state that the Ass from now on shall be called (ὀ)νικόν because he has won (ὀνικόν being homophonous to ὁ νικῶν) (*Synaxarion*, vv. 376–379 and 387–393).[32]

The *Phyllada* leaves out the first passage and reduces the second passage to a few lines without further explanation as to why the γάδαρος should henceforth be called νικόν (vv. 535–538). Here the *Synaxarion* is much closer to the common exemplar of the two texts. Once one knows the background to the motif of the Mule's Hoof, one may savour the exquisite irony of the Fox's exclamation at the end of the first passage: 'I really don't want (to know) your name at all' (*Synaxarion*, v. 55: μὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐδαμῶς θέλω τὸ ὄνομά σου). It is both a refusal to hear the same old story over again (oh no, not the Mule's Hoof again!), but also a lack of willingness to understand what the real name of the Ass is: it is 'Winner'.

The Ass's Confession and the Mule's Hoof

The author of the source text reflected in the *Synaxarion* and the *Phyllada* —the common exemplar to which they go back— is not the only one to have combined the two motifs; there is also an anonymous Florentine poet active in the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century. He is the author of two sonnets that follow one another without break: in McKenzie's edition, nos. 8a and 8b. The first sonnet (discussed above – see no. 18) is one of the two Italian sources that offer the motif of the Ass's Confession in mid sea, very similar to the setting of the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada*. The first sonnet ends with the Wolf's and the Fox's decision to throw the Ass into the sea. In the second sonnet, the Ass cunningly begs the Wolf

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31 See C. du Fresne du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae & infimae graecitatis duos in tomos digestum, 2 vols. Lyon 1688, I 28–29, s.v. ἀείδαρος.

32 See K. Tsantsanoglou, "Περί όνου …". *Hellenika* 24 (1971) 54–64.

and the Fox *not* to take his shoes before they put him overboard, which is of course exactly what they proceed to do. The first to try and unshoe the Ass is the Fox: she ends up with a mouthful of broken teeth; asked by the Wolf what happened, she hides her injury and tells him to unshoe the other hoof. The Wolf's attempt to unshoe the Ass fails even more miserably: he is hit with such force that he is thrown overboard. When the Fox sees him in the water, she remarks to the Ass: 'Serves him right!'

(1) Anonymous Florentine sonnet (c. 1400): McKenzie (ed.), Italian Fables in Verse, 242–244: nos. 8a and 8b.

There are hardly any similarities between this sonnet and the end of the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada*, apart from the Wolf being thrown into the sea and the curious detail that the Ass is shod. In dry climates, such as the Levant, mules and donkeys are normally not shod because the hoof is tougher and more resistant to wear.[33] As shoeing mules is slightly less uncommon than shoeing asses, the two stories may go back to an unattested variant on the motif of the Mule's Hoof in which his shoe played some role – but that is of course mere speculation.[34]

The real interest of the two Florentine sonnets is that they constitute a parallel to the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* in that they combine the motifs of the Ass's Confession (sonnet 8a) and the Mule's Hoof (sonnet 8b), just as the Greek animal tale does. While the author of the common exemplar of the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* has organically fused the two motifs into one running narrative, his Florentine colleague carefully assigns each motif to a sonnet of its own, thus not fully integrating the two. There is no reason to believe that the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* and the two Florentine sonnets go back to a common, presumably Italian, source text. No such text exists nor is its existence required to explain the parallel. As we hope to have shown, the motifs of the Ass's Confession and the Mule's Hoof were widespread in the later Middle Ages, from the year 1200 onward, and given the fact that they have the same protagonists (Wolf, Fox, and Ass/Mule), it was just a matter of time before someone decided to bring them together. In the end, not one but two authors came up with the idea: the Byzantine author of the common exemplar of the *Synaxarion* and the *Phyllada*, and the Florentine sonnet writer. They did so independently from one another and roughly in the same period.

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33 J. Hickman / M. Humphrey, Hickman's farriery. London 1988, 79 and 179.
34 The shoe variant may not be attested in European sources, but it is worth noting that in the Berber version recorded by Rivière, Recueil de contes (as footnote 28), the Mule goes to the farrier and asks for solid shoes with spikes, with which he then kicks the Lion in the face.

Stories travel by word of mouth. There can be little doubt that the author of the *Synaxarion/Phyllada* had access to Italian versions of the two motifs: the Ass's Confession at sea is found only in Italy; the Mule's Hoof is predominantly encountered in Italian sources. It is anyone's guess where the author of the Byzantine animal tale may have heard these stories: in Italy itself, in Venetian or Genoese colonies in the Levant, or in one of the Byzantine harbours from visiting Italian merchants and sailors. Needless to say, the fact that the author of the *Synaxarion/Phyllada* listened to Italians telling stories does not make this hilarious text any less Greek.[35]

Appendix: Date and provenance of the Synaxarion and Phyllada's source text

Can we date and locate the author of the *Synaxarion/Phyllada?* Yes, we can to a certain extent. An important clue for dating the common source of the *Synaxarion* and the *Phyllada* curiously appears to have escaped scholarly notice: namely, the references to cannons and hand cannons, which point to a date not before the early fifteenth century.[36] The *Synaxarion* (v. 339) mentions λουμπάρδας (cannons) and σκλόπους (hand cannons); the *Phyllada* (v. 483) has λουμπάρδες and τουφέκια (hand guns) instead of σκλόποι (the reason being that the latter had fallen out of use by the time of the *Phyllada* because they were quite dangerous to operate). Cannons and hand cannons were first developed in Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century, but according to Bartusis and other military historians, fire arms do not appear to have reached the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires before the year 1400.[37] The first unambiguous mention of

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35 The same is true of Perry no. 452, the fable ineptly named Λύκος καὶ ὄνος δικαζόμενοι. Given the popularity of the motif of the Ass's Confession in sermons of the mendicant orders, it is reasonable to assume that the story reached Constantinople in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century together with the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The author of Perry no. 452 made it more Byzantine by removing the Fox, the Reynardian protagonist par excellence, and dressing it up in rhetorical garb.

36 The *Synaxarion*'s most recent editor tentatively dates the source text in the fourteenth century on stylistic grounds, without, however, excluding the possibility of a date in the fifteenth century, see Moennig, Συναξάριον (as footnote 1 above) 128.

37 See M.C. Bartusis, The late Byzantine army: arms and society, 1204 – 1453. Philadelphia 1992, 334 – 341; G. Ágoston, Guns for the Sultan: military power and the weapons industry in the Ottoman Empire. Cambridge 2005, 16 – 19; and S. Kyriakidis, Warfare in late Byzantium. Leiden 2011, 187 – 196. See also S. Lampros, Τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ πυροβόλου, τοῦ τυφεκίου καὶ τῆς πυρίτιδος παρὰ τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς. *NE* 5 (1908) 400 – 413.

the use of cannons (βουμπάρδα) and hand cannons (σκλῶπος) comes from Kananos, in his account of the siege of Constantinople by Murad II in 1422, where both sides made use of fire arms.[38] The hand guns of the *Phyllada* (τουφέκια) seem first to have been used at the siege of Constantinople in 1453.[39]

Linguistically, *Synaxarion* and *Phyllada* differ greatly from one another. Though they go back to a common source, the two versions have remarkably few identical lines and half-lines.[40] The *Phyllada* is a sixteenth-century rhyming version, most probably composed by a Cretan. It lacks the mixed register of the *Synaxarion*, omitting all archaisms and solecisms (of which there are many), or replacing them with more vernacular turns of phrase. To give a few examples: 44 ἡ δὲ ἀλώπηξ πονηρὰ οὖσα καὶ μηχανοῦργος (S) and ἡ δ' ἀλουποῦ ἡ πονηρά, ἡ δολιοπανοῦργος (Ph); 63 γράμματα οὐ μεμάθηκας καὶ παίδευσιν οὐκ οἶδας (S) and τὸ πῶς δὲν ἔχεις φρόνεσιν οὐδὲ κατέχεις γράμμα (Ph).

Assuming that the language of the *Synaxarion* is closer to the common source of the two versions, the following may be observed. The highly mixed register of the *Synaxarion*, so typical of texts up to and including the fifteenth century,[41] points to an educated Byzantine author, who freely combines the Rhomaic vernacular with obsolete morphological and syntactical elements, such as the dative, the participle and the infinitive: e.g. 93 λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ συντόμως καταβάντες, and sometimes deliberately commits solecisms: e.g. 46 ψευδοτεχνεῖ εἰς ῥήμασι τούτους καταφοβῆσαι (use of dative after εἰς); 88 μὴ θέλων, μὴ βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δυναστείᾳ (a 'true' dative, but note the vernacular meaning of δυναστείᾳ, 'by force'); 286 ἀκούσας δὲ ἡ ἀλουποῦ, μὴ γνοὺς τὴν πονηρίαν (lack of agreement). The *Synaxarion* preserves several examples of the periphrastic subjunctive with θέλω (i.e. θέλω + infinitive used after νά): 24 τρέμω νὰ θέλω πέσει; 166 πολλὰ ἐπιβουλεύτηκα νὰ τῆς τὴ θέλω πάρει; 201 καὶ ἀνεβαίνω εἰς τὸ βουνὶν τάχα νὰ θέλω κλάψει. This construction is quite common in medieval Greek, but is extremely rare after the fifteenth century.[42] In the *Phyllada*, they are all replaced: τρέμω καὶ θέλω πέσει; στὸν νοῦν μου μέσα λόγιαζα τὴν ὄρνιθα νὰ πάρω; καὶ ἀνεβαίνω στὸ βουνὶ νὰ πῶ τὴν προσευχή μου.

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38 See Bartusis, Army (as footnote 37 above) 337. For the text: Ioannis Canani de Constantinopolitana obsidione relatio, ed. A.M. Cuomo. BA, 30. Boston/Berlin 2006, 10–13, 26–27.
39 See Bartusis, Army (as footnote 37 above) 338–339.
40 See the synoptic edition by Pochert, Reimbildung (as footnote 3 above) 134–185.
41 See N. Toufexis, Diglossia and register variation in Medieval Greek. *BMGS* 32 (2008) 203–217.
42 M.C. Janssen, Verb morphology, section 5.7, in D. Holton / G. Horrocks et al., The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek (in press).

The provenance of the *Synaxarion* is clearly northern. It has a particular use of the conjunction μὴ νὰ (also spelled μήνα), meaning 'in order to' (not 'lest'): 142 ἐγὼ πάντα μου πολεμῶ νὰ κλέψω μὴ νὰ ζήσω (= γιὰ νὰ ζήσω); 318 γυρεύει καὶ τὴν ἀλουποῦ μὴ νὰ τὴν κουκουδώσῃ and 328 ἐγύρεψεν κ' ἐμὲν πολλὰ μὴ νὰ μὲ κουκουδώσῃ (= γιὰ νὰ τὴν/μὲ κουκουδώσῃ). Μὴ νὰ introducing a final clause has only been found in texts from Constantinople and other northern areas, such as *Ptochoprodromika* III, 145–6 ὥρμησα τάχα καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νὰ γενῶ τσαγγάρης / μὴ νὰ χορτάσω τὸ ψωμίν;[43] *Kallimachos* 1946 ἂς πέσω μήνα κοιμηθῶ;[44] *Chronicle of Tocco* 94 καὶ μὲ κλεψίαν ἐβάλθησαν μήνα τοὺς τὸ ἐπάρουν;[45] version K of the *Alexander Romance* 357.2–3 ἦλθα … μήνα ἐλευθερώσω τὸν ἀφέντη μου;[46] an Epirot version of *Spaneas* (Z) 42 κακοπαθεῖ ὁ πτωχούτζικος μὴ νὰ ἐβγάλῃ ῥόγα;[47] and a letter from Ahmet Pasha to Andrea Gritti, written in Constantinople in 1502: νὰ στρέψετε τὸ κάστρο μὴ νὰ δώσῃ ὁ θεὸς νὰ τελειωθῇ ἡ δουλειά and πάσχισον μὴ νὰ δοθῇ καὶ αὐτὸ [= τὸ νησὶ τῆς Κεφαλονιᾶς] πρὸς ἡμάς.[48]

Then there are lexical items the text has in common with other texts of northern provenance, or which occur in modern northern dialects. A good example of the first category is the verb κουκουδώνω, 'to fuck', in lines 318 and 328 (see above): the verb κουκουδώνω has not been attested elsewhere, but a noun (τοῦ γαδάρου) ὁ κούκουδος, 'the donkey's dick', occurs in three of the four versions of *Spanos* (A 310, 406, 442, B 128, D 1699), a text probably written in eastern Thrace or Constantinople.[49] A good example of the second category is the verb τσαγκαρώνω, 'to grab', in 185 ἐγὼ δὲ τσαγκαρώνω την, ἐκείνην τὴν Καβάκα, which is still used with this meaning in the Serres region.[50] Ὁμαλίζω meaning 'to pet' (not 'to level') in line 181 occurs four times in the *Entertaining Tale of*

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43 H. Eideneier (ed.), Πτωχοπρόδρομος. Irakleio 2012.

44 M. Pichard (ed.), Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoé. Paris 1956.

45 G. Schirò (ed.), Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di anonimo. Rome 1975. *CFHB*, 10.

46 K. Mitsakis (ed.), Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων. *BNJ* 20 (1968) 228–302; repr. in: idem, Τὸ ἐμψυχοῦν ὕδωρ. Athens 1983, 299–383.

47 G. Zoras (ed.), Ἄγνωστη ἠπειρωτικὴ παραλλαγὴ τοῦ Σπανέα (κατὰ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα 1831). *RSBN* 1 (1964) 47–77.

48 F. Miklosich / J. Müller (eds), Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi, 6 vols. Vienna 1860–1890, vol. 3, 352: no. 36.

49 H. Eideneier (ed.), Spanos: Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie. Berlin / New York 1977. For the provenance of *Spanos*, see ibidem, 26–28; see also T. Karanastasis, Ακολουθία του ανοσίου τραγογένη σπανού: χαρακτήρας και χρονολόγηση. Thessaloniki 2010, 50–56, who lists Thracian vocabulary found in the parody.

50 See τζαγκαρώνω at http://sitohori-serron.blogspot.co.uk/2016/01/3.html (accessed September 2018), which lists vocabulary of the Serres region.

Quadrupeds (vv. 161, 219, 253, 766), a text likely to have been written by an author from Constantinople or perhaps Thessaloniki.[51] Finally, the *Synaxarion* also has a verb that is now typical of Pontic, Cappadocian and Thracian: φαγίζω, 'to feed', in line 181: νὰ μὲ φαγίσῃ τίποτες.[52] This verb also occurs in a fifteenth-century Persian-Greek-Serbian method for learning Arabic that presents certain Pontic features.[53]

There are a few loanwords from Italian (surprisingly, perhaps, not adopted by the *Phyllada*): τσιμάδι in line 130 if it is indeed from Italian *cima*;[54] στὸν ποῦντον in line 307, from *punto*;[55] and καποῦσι in line 326, from *cappuccio*, 'cabbage'.[56] The use of Italian loanwords points to a place where different ethnicities mingled, perhaps Constantinople, or a harbour city in the Black Sea area.

The *Synaxarion* also has a number of Ottoman/Persian loanwords and calques (all omitted in the *Phyllada*): in line 32 ζαγάρια, 'hounds', from *zağar*, a word first attested in the mid fourteenth-century Paraphrase of Niketas Choniates; in line 35 ζάγανοι, 'falcons', from *šāhin*, again first appearing in the Paraphrase of Niketas Choniates.[57] Judging from a mention in the fifteenth-century *Chronicle* of Machairas, Turkish hounds were sought after: πολλὰ ἀγάπαν τὰ κυνηγία, καὶ ἐπαράγγειλεν καὶ ἐφέραν του ἀπὸ τὴν Τουρκίαν μίαν ζυγὴν σκυλλία λαγωνικὰ πολλὰ ὄμορφα, '[the knight] was very fond of hunting, and he had or-

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51 N. Nicholas / G. Baloglou (eds), An Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds. New York 2003; for the provenance, see ibid. 63 – 66.

52 For Pontic, see A. Papadopoulos, Ιστορική γραμματική της Ποντικής διαλέκτου. Athens 1955, 89 – 90; for Cappadocian, see R.M. Dawkins, Modern Greek in Asia Minor. Cambridge 1916, 655; for Thracian, see G.N. Chatzidakis, Φιλολογικαί έρευναι. Athens 1911, 5.

53 W. Lehfeldt (ed.), Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte. Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächslehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache. *Slavistische Forschungen*, 57. Cologne/Vienna 1989, 117: φάσον, a Pontic aorist imperative of φαγίζω. For this and other Pontic forms in the *Sprachlehre*, see also G. Henrich, Τα ποντιακά στοιχεία σε ελληνόγλωσσο ισλαμικό κείμενο της εποχής του 1500, in: Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη Στ. Καρατζά. Thessaloniki 1990, 355 – 3474.

54 P. Vasileiou, Λεξιλογικά παλιότερων κειμένων της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας. *Hellenika* 37 (1986) 126 – 128.

55 E. Kriaras, Λεξικό της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής δημώδους γραμματείας, vol. 17. Thessaloniki 2011, *s.v.* πόντος (II).

56 The ms. (Vindob. Theol. gr. 244, fol. 129[r]), reads καποῦσι, not καπάσι as in the edition. For the meaning see N. Zingarelli, Vocabolario della lingua italiana. Bologna 1970, *s.v.* cappuccio (2).

57 E. Trapp et al., Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität, 8 vols. Vienna 1994 – 2017, vol. 3, *s.v.* ζαγάριον and ζάγανος.

dered them to bring him from Turkey a pair of very beautiful greyhounds'.[58] More interesting than these loanwords for luxury goods is the word τσακάτι, 'forehead', in line 348, from Persian *tšakād*, which entered the Greek language via Turkish, and is now typical of northern areas and Asia Minor; it also occurs in *Spanos*.[59] The text even presents a loan translation of a Turkish verb in line 19: καὶ τὸ φαγεῖν ἐστάθηκεν, 'he stopped eating'. This very striking (transitive!) use of the verb στέκομαι is clearly calqued on the Turkish verb *durmak*, which means both 'to stand' and 'to cease'.[60] Whereas loanwords denoting luxury goods, such as hounds and falcons, tend to enter a language fairly quickly, the adoption of ordinary words such as τσακάτι and lexical calques such as στέκομαι/durmak strongly suggest a rather intensive language contact between Greek and Turkish.

To sum up, the common source of the *Synaxarion* and the *Phyllada* dates to the fifteenth century since it refers to fire arms. Since it does so cursorily, without cannons and hand cannons being presented as a novelty, the conclusion can only be that the author and his audience had got accustomed to their presence. However, as the text clearly forms part of the Byzantine learned tradition, displaying both rhetorical skills and a superb sense of humour, it must predate the Ottoman conquests. The linguistic analysis points in the direction of the Black Sea region, perhaps Trebizond, or the Constantinople area: φαγίζω, τσακάτι, στέκομαι/durmak, the parallels with *Spanos*, etc. The literary analysis has shown that the author of the *Synaxarion*/*Phyllada* operated in an environment open to Italian influence: presumably a harbour or a place of commerce. All in all, Trebizond (before 1461) or Constantinople (before 1453) appear to be the most likely places for the composition of this wonderful asinine tale.

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58 For the text see R. Dawkins (ed.), Leontios Makhairas, Recital concerning the sweet land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle". Oxford 1932, 242, 5 – 7.

59 See Karanastasis, Ἀκολουθία (as footnote 49 above) 53 – 54, where he suggests the *Synaxarion* is from the same region (Constantinople area) as *Spanos* based on the use of this word.

60 J. Redhouse, Turkish Dictionary. London 1880, *s.v.* durmak.

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Nina Sietis

Leontios Eustratios e un capitolo della tradizione manoscritta di Niceforo patriarca[1]

Abstract: Leontios Eustratios, called Philoponos, was a prolific scribe and tireless traveler, though neglected by modern research. The first part of this article is devoted to the reconstruction of Leontios' life and activity, while the second describes a new witness of the theological works by the patriarch Nicephorus and offers new data for research on philology and textual transmission.

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Nell'ambito degli studi su «Byzance après Byzance» molto resta ancora da fare, soprattutto nel campo della paleografia e in special modo in relazione alle mani degli eruditi greci che popolarono l'area mediterranea sullo scorcio dell'età moderna. Fra questi va ricordato Leontios Eustratios, detto Philoponos (1560/ 1565 – *ante* 1602), figura ancora poco conosciuta e che tuttavia s'inserì appieno

Desidero rivolgere un ringraziamento al prof. Daniele Bianconi, lettore premuroso e attento, e al prof. Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, per gli utili suggerimenti.

1 Abbreviazioni utilizzate: Briquet = C. M. Briquet, Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier. Hildesheim / New York 1977. Constantinides/Browning: C. N. Constantinides / R. Browning, Dated greek manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570. Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 30; Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus, 18. Washington, D.C. / Nicosia 1993. Lake I–X = K. Lake / S. Lake, Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200, I–X; Indices. Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera, I Series. Boston 1934 – 1939, 1945. RGK I–III = Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800 – 1600, I. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens, E. Gamillscheg / D. Harlfinger (a cura di), A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten, B. Paläographische Charakteristika, H. Hunger (a cura di), C. Tafeln; II. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Großbritanniens, E. Gamillscheg / D. Harlfinger (a cura di), A. Verzeichnis der Kopisten, B. Paläographische Charakteristika, H. Hunger (a cura di), C. Tafeln; III. Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan, E. Gamillscheg / D. Harlfinger / P. Eleuteri (a cura di), A.Verzeichnis der Kopisten, B. Paläographische Charakteristika, H. Hunger (a cura di), C. Tafeln. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3/ 1 – 3 A–C. Wien 1981 – 1997. Vogel / Gardthausen = M. Vogel / V. E. Gardthausen, Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Hildesheim 1966.

nelle dinamiche di scambio tra la cultura umanistica occidentale e l'Oriente greco. L'ultimo contributo che lo riguarda si deve a Claudia Sode, la quale ha ricostruito le tappe della biografia di Eustratios sulla base di un encomio funebre composto in suo onore da Maximos Margounios, il celebre erudito cretese; manca, tuttavia, qualsiasi studio su Leontios copista.[2]

Prima di entrare nel vivo del discorso, sarà opportuno dare qualche ragguaglio sulla figura oggetto di questo contributo. Spostiamoci senz'altro a Cipro, nel 1571, quando, dopo una lunga resistenza, Famaugusta cadeva nelle mani dei Turchi. La battaglia di Lepanto, che segnava la fine della potenza navale ottomana nelle acque del Mediterraneo, allo stesso tempo privava definitivamente la Repubblica di Venezia del controllo su Cipro, durato per quasi un secolo. Molti degli abitanti dell'isola fuggirono verso altri territori dell'antica Bisanzio – in particolare a Costantinopoli o nella Creta veneziana –, o si diressero a Occidente, dove la Serenissima fungeva già da tempo come polo di attrazione per gli intellettuali ellenofoni, grazie alla ricchezza e alla vivacità della sua cultura;[3] altri

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2 C. Sode, Ein bisher unbekannter Epitaphios des Maximos Margunios auf Leontios Eustratios Philoponos. *Codices Manuscripti* 34/35 (2001) 29 – 55 (= Sode). La bibliografia su Eustratios è piuttosto variegata: i primi studi sono di E. Legrand, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux XVe et XVIe siècles, 4 vol. Paris 1885 – 1906 (= Legrand XV-XVI): II, LXVI e nota 2; IV, 316 – 318; idem, Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle, 5 vol. Paris 1894 – 1903 (= Legrand XVII): III, 133 – 141; e di I. Lamius (a cura di), Deliciae eruditorum seu Veterum anekdotōn opusculorum collectanea, 18 vol. Florentiae 1736 – 1769, vol. IX (1740) e XV (1744), che pubblicò il testo di alcune epistole di Leontios. Tra i lavori moderni vanno citati almeno O. Kresten, Ein Empfehlungsschreiben des Erzbischofs Gabriel von Achrida für Leontios Eustratios Philoponos an Martin Crusius (Vindob. Suppl. gr. 142). *RSBN* 6/7 (1969/1970) 93 – 125, in particolare 100 – 107; idem (a cura di), Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Der Bericht des Leontios Eustratios im Cod. Tyb. Mb 10. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 266/5. Wien 1970; altro materiale è citato in Sode, cui bisogna aggiungere Ch. Gastgeber, Blotius und seine griechieschen Kontakte. Leontios Eustratios Philoponos und der Erzbischof Gabriel von Achrida im Stammbuch des Hugo Blotius. Biblos 46 (1997) 247 – 258, dedicato al soggiorno tedesco dello ieromonaco. Qualche dettaglio sulla scrittura di Leontios si recupera dalla breve nota di RGK II, nr. 325. Per Maximos Margounios si rinvia alla monografia di G. Fedalto, Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al «De Trinitate» di s. Agostino, Brescia 1967; più di recente Ch. Zampakolas, Η βιβλιοθήκη του κρητικού λογίου Μαξίμου Μαργούνιου μέσα από την απογραφή της κινητής του περιουσίας. *Thesaurismata* 41/42 (2011 – 2012 [2013]) 311 – 327 ha ricostruito la biblioteca di Margounios, mentre poca attenzione è stata posta alla sua attività grafica, per cui rimangono un punto di riferimento i brevi ragguagli in RGK I, nr. 259; RGK II, nr. 356; RGK III, nr. 427.

3 A tal proposito si veda almeno K. Kyrres, Cypriote Scholars in Venice in the XVI and XVII centuries with some notes on the Cypriote Community in Venice and other Cypriote Scholars

Greci di Cipro, invece, caddero prigionieri del nemico ottomano e furono portati in Oriente per essere venduti come schiavi o, seguendo le vie della diplomazia, liberati dietro il pagamento di un congruo riscatto.[4]

A quel tempo Leontios era un fanciullo di circa dieci anni, se, come sembra, la sua data di nascita va collocata tra gli anni 1560/1565;[5] originario della Ftiotide, egli vide tuttavia la luce a Κοιλάνο ο Κυλάνι, un paesino dell'entroterra rurale di Lemessos.[6] Non è certo quale fu il destino del giovane a seguito dell'invasione turca di Cipro: si è sinora ritenuto che Leontios sia stato imprigionato e condotto a Costantinopoli, dove fu liberato grazie all'intervento dell'allora patriarca Hieremias II Tranos. In questo modo Eustratios sarebbe entrato a far parte dell'ambiente del patriarcato dell'antica capitale dell'impero, collaborandovi e traendo frutto dalla florida attività culturale che vi si svolgeva[7] almeno fino al 1585, quando si trasferì a Tessalonica. Questa è l'ipotesi normalmente accolta, sulla base di quanto si desume da una lettera di Gabriel di

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who lived in Rome and the Rest of Italy in the same period, in J. Irmscher / M. Mineemi (a cura di), Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν. Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in der neueren Zeit. *BBA*, 40. Berlin 1968, 183 – 272, 185 – 186.

4 Pratica piuttosto comune a quel tempo: si veda W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, Esclavage et rançons des chrétiens en Méditerranée (1570 – 1600). Paris 1987.

5 Questo l'arco temporale individuato da Kresten, Empfehlungsschreiben (come sopra nota 2) 100 e nota 2 (alle 100 – 101) e idem, Patriarchat (come sopra nota 2) 24. Legrand ha proposto dubitativamente come anno di nascita il 1565 o il 1566, in base a una notizia riportata da un allievo di Eustratios, Neophytos Rhodinos: egli riferiva, infatti, che il suo σοφός maestro sarebbe morto all'età di trentacinque anni; ora, poiché Meletios Pigas indirizzò a Leontios un'epistola nel 1600, mentre David Höschel, nel 1602, parlava dell'amico come del μακάριος Leontios, la morte di quest'ultimo dovrebbe collocarsi proprio fra questi due estremi (Legrand XVII, III, 133 e nota 2). Ebbene le ultime ricerche di Sode hanno permesso di restringere ulteriormente la forbice, giacché Margounios, una volta composto l'elogio funebre succitato, ne diede notizia a David Höschel in una lettera datata 15 dicembre 1601, dunque il momento della morte di Leontios è da collocarsi necessariamente prima della redazione dell'epistola (Sode 40).

6 L'ortografia di questo toponimo varia nelle stesse parole di Eustratios (cfr. l'epistola di Gabriel vescovo di Acrida a Crusius, ll. 16 – 17: Kresten, Empfehlungsschreiben, come sopra nota 2, 100 e nota 2 alle 100 – 1019 e idem, Patriarchat, come sopra nota 2, 109 e discussione a 101). Negli studi moderni si trova indicato anche come Koilani/Kilani (si veda ad esempio T. Papacostas, Neapolis/Nemesos/Limassol: The Rise of a Byzantine Settlement from Late Antiquity to the Time of the Crusades, in A. Nicolaou-Konnari / C. Schabel (a cura di) Lemesos. A history of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman conquest. Cambridge 2015, 96 – 188 e, nello stesso volume, Map. 2 a XX).

7 Sulla battaglia culturale portata avanti dal Tranos contro i Turchi, soprattutto in materia scolastica, si veda G. De Gregorio, Un intervento patriarcale del 1574 contro la idiorritmia: i documenti di Hieremias II Tranos. *JÖB* 46 (1996) 343 – 378.

Acrida a Martin Crusius, che l'arcivescovo scrisse con l'intento di raccomandare Eustratios al teologo di Tubinga.[8]

Sode ha invece abbracciato un'ipotesi già formulata da Nikolaos Tomadakes, secondo il quale il 1571 avrebbe segnato il trasferimento dell'intera famiglia di Leontios a Candia, nell'isola di Creta;[9] qui il giovane avrebbe fatto la conoscenza di Margounios e avrebbe con lui intrapreso il suo *cursus studiorum*.[10] Purtroppo, nell'epitaffio in onore di Eustratios, Margounios fu piuttosto laconico in merito alle vicende che coinvolsero il suo allievo in seguito all'arrivo degli Ottomani a Cipro; si limitò infatti ad affermare che lo slancio del fanciullo nei confronti dello studio «fu interrotto dalla sventura della prigionia» e ad apostrofare Leontios che «abbandonava la patria alla ricerca di una formazione migliore» e «giungeva nella famosa isola di Creta», ricordandogli «ti sei affidato a me, scegliendomi come insegnante».[11] Da questi accenni l'editrice dell'elogio funebre ha inferito che l'affermazione contenuta nell'epistola di Gabriel di Acrida fosse falsa. Sode ha argomentato che Margounios non avrebbe avuto alcun motivo per tacere di un elemento tanto importante come il ruolo che Hieremias II avrebbe avuto nella liberazione di Eustratios dai Turchi e si è espressa dunque a favore dell'ipotesi di Tomadakes, concludendo che il giovane cipriota dové

8 Secondo quanto si legge nell'epistola dell'arcivescovo Gabriel, Leontios, «νέαν ἔχων ἡλικίαν, [...] ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἠλευθέρωται» (quando era un fanciullo [...] fu liberato dagli Agarenoi = Arabi) grazie all'intervento di Hieremias II; nella stessa missiva si dice altresì che fu proprio nel patriarcato che Leontios «ἀνετράφη» (Kresten, Empfehlungsschreiben, come sopra nota 2, 109). Per un resoconto dettagliato della questione e per altra bibliografia, si rinvia a Sode 36–37. Su Crusius si rinvia a G. De Gregorio, Costantinopoli – Tubinga – Roma, ovvero la 'duplice conversione' di un manoscritto bizantino (Vat. gr. 738). *BZ* 93 (2000) 37–107, in particolare 54 e nota 51, con bibliografia precedente.

9 Sode 38 sulla base anche di N. B. Tomadakes, Μητροφάνης Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ Ματθαῖος ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὑμνογράφος. Οἱ Κρῆτες ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (16ος αἰών). *EEBS* 44 (1979–1980) 117–140: 121–122, 126–127.

10 È in effetti Eustratios stesso a indicare Margounios come suo maestro, in un'epistola inviata da Zante in data 29 settembre 1586 (edita in Legrand XVII, 136–137; Leontios si dice allievo di Margounios anche in due epistole a Höschel, per cui si veda Legrand XV–XVI, I, 21 e III, 138–139; cfr. da ultimo Sode 37). I rapporti tra Leontios e Margounios non furono sempre idilliaci: si ha notizia di un periodo di rottura di cui il giovane si pentì nel 1586; i due si rividero qualche anno dopo a Venezia, dove Leontios si recò alla fine del 1589 – ma su questo si veda *infra*.

11 «αἰχμαλωσίας διεκόπη συμβάματι», «μετανάστης γίγνῃ τῆς πατρίδος, κατὰ παιδείας μείζονος ζήτησιν, [....] καὶ τῇ περιφήμῳ προσχωρεῖς νήσῳ Κρήτῃ, [...] ἐμοὶ φέρων διδασκάλῳ δίδως σεαυτόν»: *Laudatio funebris*, 52–53, 70–80: Sode 47–48; commento a 38.

passare direttamente dall'isola natale a Creta.[12] La stessa studiosa, tuttavia, notava che nell'elogio funebre manca anche qualsiasi accenno al viaggio che il Philoponos avrebbe in seguito fatto in Germania, presso Martin Crusius e gli altri protestanti tedeschi, così come, delle varie tappe del tour italiano del cipriota, viene menzionata solo Roma, mentre è certo che Leontios trascorse diverso tempo tra Venezia e Padova.[13] È chiaro dunque che l'elogio funebre di Margounios tralascia passaggi anche piuttosto significativi della vita di Eustratios, perciò non può essere preso come unico punto di riferimento per tracciarne la biografia.

Bisogna d'altra parte considerare un altro fattore: negli anni in cui i Turchi conquistavano Cipro, Margounios soggiornava a Padova; vi si era trasferito già nel 1568 e non sarebbe rientrato a Creta se non negli anni 1577/1578.[14] Ci si trova insomma di fronte a un buco cronologico di circa sette/otto anni, che è possibile riempire formulando un'ulteriore ipotesi, vale a dire che Leontios sia stato effettivamente catturato in seguito alla conquista ottomana di Cipro e liberato per iniziativa di Hieremias II, per tramite del quale il giovane fu accolto nel patriarcato di Costantinopoli. Non è impossibile che solo in seguito, magari contestualmente alla deposizione del Tranos verso la fine del 1579, Leontios abbia cercato fortuna lontano da Costantinopoli, giungendo a Creta.[15] Quest'ipotesi permetterebbe di accettare le affermazioni dell'arcivescovo di Acrida e nel contempo di integrarle con quanto Margounios ricostruiva della vita di Eustratios.

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12 Sode 38. Qualche pagina più avanti l'articolo menzionava il viaggio di Leontios a Costantinopoli nei primi mesi del 1584, quando oramai Hieremias era stato esiliato a Rodi; la studiosa vi ha riconosciuto un'ulteriore riprova dell'impossibilità che il patriarca abbia avuto un ruolo nella formazione del cipriota (Sode 39 nota 42 [inizio a 38]). La grande mobilità dei Greci del Rinascimento e in particolare di Eustratios sembrerebbero piuttosto invitare alla cautela – ma si veda *infra*.

13 Si vedano rispettivamente Sode 39 e 40.

14 Il trasferimento a Padova si colloca nel 1568 secondo Louis Petit, autore della voce del *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* IX, 1927, 2039 – 2040 dedicata a Margounios; nel 1569 secondo Fedalto, Massimo Margunio (come sopra nota 2) 21. La prima notizia certa del ritorno di Margunios a Creta risale invece al 23 settembre 1578 (*ibid.* 36 e 292).

15 Le date in cui il Tranos fu presente a Costantinopoli, in effetti, non sono di secondaria importanza: se si è inclini a credere che Leontios sia stato liberato per volontà di Hieremias II, bisogna comunque pensare che vi sia arrivato dopo il 5 maggio 1572, vale a dire dopo l'elezione del nuovo patriarca. Questi, tra l'altro, fu scacciato dal soglio due volte: fra il novembre 1579 e il 13 agosto dell'anno successivo, nonché il 22 febbraio 1584, quando fu esiliato a Rodi – episodio che s'intreccia con le vicende biografiche di Margounios e di Eustratios (cfr. *infra*). Riuscì a rientrare a Costantinopoli solo il 4 luglio 1589: si veda G. Hoffmann, Griechische Patriarchen und Römische Päpste. Untersuchungen und Texte (Patr. Ieremias II, Meletios Pigas, Neophytos, etc.), *OCP* 25 (1932) 227 – 248.

È certo, invece, che Leontios fu a Costantinopoli nel 1584. L'epitaffio informa che il giovane seguì Margounios in Oriente in occasione della sua nomina a vescovo. Già da tempo Hieremias II Tranos tentava di attirare nell'ambiente del patriarcato l'erudito cretese, con il quale aveva preso contatti per via delle condivise idee unioniste nei confronti delle due Chiese, orientale e occidentale; la nomina a vescovo di Cerigo fu l'occasione per convincere Margounios a recarsi nella capitale per la cerimonia ufficiale.[16] Ebbene, quest'ultimo scrisse che i due s'imbarcarono assieme, ma dovettero arrivare a Costantinopoli quando ormai Hieremias II era stato scacciato dal soglio patriarcale (22 febbraio 1584).[17] La presenza di Leontios a Costantinopoli nel settembre dello stesso anno è attestata dalla sottoscrizione del codice Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. gr. 156 (**fig. 1**), un Massimo Confessore commissionato dal frate domenicano Andrea Bombi, originario di Faenza.[18]

Durante il soggiorno costantinopolitano Leontios incontrò Matthaios, fratello del metropolita di Tessalonica, dove sembra che si sia trasferito nel 1585. In seguito Eustratios fu prima a Zante, per un breve periodo, poi a Corfù, dove,

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16 Sui contatti fra Margounios e il Tranos si veda Fedalto, Massimo Margunio (come sopra nota 2) 21, 31 e 39 – 42 sulle vicende collegate con la nomina a vescovo. Quest'informazione permette di superare l'imbarazzo di Tomadakes, che si chiedeva se Eustratios fosse giunto nella capitale in qualità di «clericus» o al seguito di qualche «ὀφφικιάλος» occidentale (Tomadakes, Μητροφάνης Θεσσαλονίκης, come sopra nota 9, 127).

17 «ἐπειδὴ ἀνάγκη τὶς ἐμὲ ἀπαραίτητος ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων βασιλίδα κατήπειγε, [...], ἀβίωτον ἡγοῦ τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ συναπέπλεες διδασκάλῳ [...]. εἰχόμεθον τοίνυν καὶ ἄμφω τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνην φερούσης ὁδοῦ [...] ἀσφαλῶς δὲ ἐκεῖσε σὺν Θεῷ καταχθέντες [...]» – «poiché una certa necessità impellente mi spingeva verso la regina delle città, [...], ritenesti la tua vita indegna di essere vissuta se non fossi salpato assieme al tuo maestro [...]; ci mettemmo dunque in viaggio entrambi per la strada che porta a quella città [...]; arrivati che fummo, sani e salvi, grazie a Dio [...]» (*Laudatio funebris*, ll. 82 – 92: Sode 48). Fedalto, Massimo Margunio (come sopra nota 2) 39 supponeva che Margunios fosse giunto a Costantinopoli nel marzo 1584: la prima data certa è il 15 aprile, giorno in cui Margunios inviò un'epistola dal monastero di Crisopege: Fedalto, ibid. 39 – 40, 293.

18 Il codice è consultabile al link <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004573d?rk=2360526;4>; si fornisce qui la sottoscrizione in trascrizione diplomatica: «ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἔλαβε τέλος τῆς γραφῆς ἐν τῷ ͵ζ^{ω}ϟ^{ω}γ^{ω}′ ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ ͵α^{ω}φ^{ω}π^{ω}δ^{ω}′ [1584] :– μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει· ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ, Λεοντίου ἱεροδιακόνου ἐκ πάνυ παλαιᾶς βίβλου, διὰ συνδρομῆς τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις καὶ πνευματικοῖς καὶ διδασκάλου θεολόγου φρὰ Ἀνδρέου Μπόμπη ἀπὸ Φαβεντζίας, ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν Πρεδικατόρων:–» (f. 320v) – «La trascrizione di questo libro è stata terminata nell'anno 5093 dalla creazione del mondo, nell'anno 1584 dalla nascita di Cristo, nel mese di settembre a Costantinopoli; è stato copiato da me, Leontios ierodiacono, avendo come modello un libro molto antico, per concessione del più beato tra gli ieromonaci e padri spirituali, maestro e teologo fra Andrea Bombi da Faenza, dell'ordine dei Predicatori.»

Fig. 1. Par. Suppl. gr. 156, f. 9r

ormai insignito della carica di ieromonaco, cominciò ad insegnare greco, per volere del consiglio cittadino; vi rimase all'incirca un anno e mezzo, dal novembre 1587 all'estate del 1589.[19] In questo periodo il Philoponos maturò la decisione di cercare fortuna in Occidente:[20] viaggiò a Venezia, ma vi restò solo il

19 Legrand XVII, III, 134, 137; si veda anche Sode 39 e note 47 – 49. L'incarico di insegnante fu rinnovato per un secondo anno nel novembre del 1588, ma evidentemente Leontios non ne era soddisfatto, se decise di partire prima della scadenza del secondo mandato.

20 L'ultimo resoconto su questa fase della vita di Eustratios si legge in Sode 39 – 40; all'articolo si rimanda per completi ragguagli bibliografici. La ricostruzione di questa fase della vita del

tempo necessario per rivedere Margounios e approfondire la conoscenza di alcuni dei maggiori eruditi del tempo, tra cui Gabriel Severos, Laurentios Marinos, e il ventenne futuro patriarca Kostantinos (Kyrillos) Loukaris, conosciuto per tramite di Meletios Pigas.[21] Da Venezia decise di spostarsi verso nord, accompagnato nel viaggio da Gabriel, vescovo di Acrida; una volta arrivati a Vienna, però, le loro strade si separarono: Leontios ottenne da Gabriel una lettera di presentazione per Martin Crusius e riprese il viaggio in direzione di Tubinga assieme a suo cugino Iezechiel Xyrices.[22] Lungo il viaggio i due fecero tappa ad Augusta, dove incontrarono David Höschel, amico di Konstantinos Loukaris.[23]

Philoponos, tuttavia, era già stata dettagliatamente affrontata da Kresten, Patriarchat (come sopra nota 2), che rimane un punto di riferimento obbligato. Utile è anche Gastgeber, Blotius (come sopra nota 2).

21 Questi sono i destinatari delle epistole del Philoponos che ancora leggiamo. Nel febbraio 1590, ad esempio, Leontios inviava una lettera a Dionysios Katilianos, presidente della comunità greca di Venezia, pregandolo di salutare Marinos (edizione in Lamius, Deliciae eruditorum, come sopra nota 2, IX, 70 – 71; cfr. Legrand XVII, III, 134, 137). La bibliografia su Gabriel Severos è piuttosto consistente: si vedano ad esempio R. M. Piccione, Libri greci da Venezia a Torino e l'eredità di Gavriil Seviros. *Medioevo Greco* 17 (2017) 193 – 290 e D. G. Apostolopulos (a cura di), Gavriil Seviros, arcivescovo di Filadelfia a Venezia, e la sua epoca. Atti della giornata di studio dedicata alla memoria di Manussos Manussacas (Venezia, 26 settembre 2003). *Convegni, Istituto Ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia*, 9. Venezia 2004; per ulteriore bibliografia si rinvia a S. Serventi, Manoscritti di Gabriele Severo all'Ambrosiana: Il copista Metrofane Raftopulo. *Thesaurismata* 38 (2008) 225 – 254, 226 nota 4. Sui rapporti tra Loukaris ed Eustratios si veda L. Philippou, Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας: 1571 – 1878. Leukosia 1930, 36; su Loukaris rimane d'obbligo il rinvio a K.-P. Todt, Kyrillos Loukaris, in C. G. Conticello / V. Conticello (a cura di), La théologie byzantine et sa tradition, II. Turnhout 2002, 617 – 658. Su Meletios Pigas si veda la tesi di dottorato di V. Ch. Tzoga, Μελέτιος Πηγάς (1550 – 1601). Πατριάρχης Αλεξανδρείας. Βίος – Δράση – Εργογραφία, Athena 2009, con bibliografia precedente.

22 In un'epistola del 16 novembre 1589, spedita da Vienna a Gabriel Severos, Eustratios manifestava il desiderio di dirigersi a Tubinga (edita in Lamius, Deliciae eruditorum, come sopra nota 2, XV, Firenze 1744, 90 – 91; cfr. Legrand XVII, III, 134, 137): d'altra parte era naturale cercare contatti con i luterani di Tubinga, con i quali da tempo Hieremias II Tranos aveva intrapreso accordi per una riunificazione delle Chiese (sull'argomento si rimanda senz'altro a G. E. Zachariades, Tübingen und Konstantinopel. Martin Crusius und seine Verhandlungen mit der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche. Göttingen 1941, 16 – 18; sui legami di Margounios con gli Umanisti di Tubinga si veda Fedalto, Massimo Margunio, come sopra nota 2, 32 – 33, 53 – 55). La succitata epistola a Katilianos testimonia che Leontios si trovava ancora a Vienna nel febbraio 1590.

23 Il quale anzi redasse una lettera di presentazione per il cipriota. È probabile che Eustratios e Höschel si siano incontrati in due occasioni distinte, sia prima che dopo il soggiorno dello ieromonaco a Tubinga; è certo invece che Leontios donò allo studioso tedesco una copia manoscritta dell'*Adversus Iudaeos* di Giovanni Crisostomo – che però non è ancora stato possibile identificare (Legrand XVI, I, 21 – 22; III 134).

Finalmente, Martin Crusius segnalava nel suo diario l'arrivo dei due cugini a Tubinga la sera del 17 marzo 1590;[24] qualche giorno dopo gli ospiti ripartirono, non senza aver donato a Crusius una serie di codici e libri greci.[25] A luglio Leontios era di nuovo in Italia, prima a Venezia e poi a Padova[26] e si ha notizia di un viaggio a Roma, ma solo per un breve periodo.[27] Tornato a Venezia, il Philoponos vi rimase ancora circa un anno, per poi rientrare a Cipro verso l'estate del 1591;[28] qui si dedicò all'insegnamento del greco presso il monastero di S. Giovanni Pipes di Nicosia, di cui in seguito divenne egumeno[29] e dove morì, verosimilmente nel 1601.[30]

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24 Leontios aveva con sé una lettera di presentazione scritta da Margounios – datata 6 settembre 1589 –, mentre era stato Theodosios Zygomalas a presentare Xyrices: il legame è troppo incerto per sostenere che anche Eustratios abbia conosciuto la famiglia Zygomalas. Sulle lettere di presentazione, di cui è lo stesso Crusius a dare notizia (in M. Crusius, Annales sueuici siue Chronica rerum gestarum antiquissimae et inclytae sueuicae gentis [...] Adiunctis interim caeterae quoque Germaniae, Orientis & Occidentis ac vicinarum prouinciarum ad nostra usque tempora, memorabilibus rebus ac scitu dignis. [...] Cuius dodecas prima–tertia. Ab initio rerum conditarum, usque ad D.CCC. annum Christi dedicitur, Francoforti 1595 – 96, II, 830 – 831), si veda Legrand XV–XVI, IV, 316 – 317, 139 nota 1; ancora più dettagliato B. Mystakides, Ὁ ἱερὸς κλῆρος κατὰ τὸν ΙΣΤ' αἰῶνα (Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος). Athenai 1892, 35 – 37, che segnalava altre lettere indirizzate a Crusius che Leontios aveva con sé, tra cui una di Höschel e un'altra di Hugo Blotius (Leontios e Blotius si erano incontrati a Vienna in ottobre, come attesta una nota autografa del Philoponos sul Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. gr. 142 (cod. 9645), f. 39r, per cui si veda Gastgeber, Blotius, come sopra nota 2).

25 Il 21 marzo i cugini erano nuovamente ad Augusta, da dove scrivevano a Crusius (Sode 39 – 40 e nota 54, con bibliografia). Dei codici che l'erudito protestante ricevette in dono da Leontios è stato identificato solo il München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 548, testimone del commento pselliano alla *Logica* di Aristotele (Legrand XV–XVI, IV 317; sul codice si veda *infra*.

26 Da Venezia Leontios scriveva a Höschel il 17 luglio e nuovamente in settembre, sebbene l'epistola manchi dell'indicazione dell'anno (Legrand XVII, III 137 – 138). Si vedano altresì due epistole datate Padova, ottobre 1590, la prima destinata a Margounios, l'altra inviata da Kyrillos Loukaris (cfr. Legrand XVII, III 134).

27 Qui lo raggiunse una lettera inviatagli da Loukaris a fine novembre (edita in Legrand XVII, IV, 204; cfr. III, 134 – 135). Non mi è stato possibile trovare indicazioni della permanenza di Eustratios a Bologna, come invece ha scritto Sode 40, né la bibliografia citata al riguardo dalla studiosa mi sembra elencare la città emiliana tra le mete del Philoponos.

28 Il 3 giugno 1591, il Philoponos pregava Marinos di indirizzargli le prossime missive a Cipro (Legrand XVII, III 135, 140). L'11 settembre dello stesso anno Margounios spediva verso Cipro una lettera per Leontios (Legrand XVII, III 135, che adduceva a riprova del fatto anche alcune epistole di Pigas).

29 Legrand XVII, III 135.

30 Sulla data di morte di Eustratios si veda *supra*.

Tra paleografia e prosopografia: i codici di Leontios

Per ricostruire il primo periodo della vita di Leontios possiamo affidarci solo a notizie di seconda mano. Per quanto concerne la maturità del personaggio in oggetto, le fonti secondarie e le informazioni che egli stesso ha offerto nel suo epistolario – cui si è parzialmente accennato –, possono essere integrate dall'analisi dei manoscritti da lui copiati – alcuni datati, altri datati e localizzati. Tale studio resta ancora in gran parte da fare: qui s'intende presentare un campione di un lavoro in corso, senza pretesa di sistematicità ed esaustività.

Nel repertorio di Marie Vogel e Viktor Gardthausen sono menzionati solo due dei manoscritti risalenti al Philoponos, vale a dire il Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana, gr. 10 e il già citato Par. Suppl. gr. 156. Il primo – di cui Eustratios trascrisse solo una piccola unità – è una miscellanea disorganica,[31] registrata

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31 Il codice si compone di più unità dal contenuto disomogeneo, riunite in un secondo momento: a Demetrios Syllegardos si devono i ff. 1–37 (si tratta di cinque quaternioni cartacei, ciascuno numerato nell'angolo superiore destro; la loro copia si concluse il 25 febbraio 1585, come si legge nella sottoscrizione a f. 37r; su Syllegardos, attivo a Creta nell'ultimo quarto del XVI sec., si rimanda a RGK I, 102), mentre Leontios si è occupato della trascrizione dei ff. 76–254, che recano una scelta di testi medici (ff. 67–212: Alessandro di Tralle, *Therapeutica*; ff. 212v–213r: idem, *Dedicatio ad Cosmam*; ff. 213v–242v, idem, *De febribus*; 242v–245v, Rhazes, *De pestilentia*; sottoscrizione a f. 254v: «ἐγράπτη ἡ παροῦσα ἡ παροῦσα [cancellato] ἰατρικῆ βίβλος· παρ ἐμοῦ Λε|οντίου μοναχοῦ, τάχα καὶ ἱεροδιακόνου· τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Κυλάνι τῆς Κύπρ(ου) | νήσ(ου)· ὅσοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ τύχητ(ε), εὔξασθαι ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ –| ἐτελειώθη δὲ εν ζ^{ω} ς^{ω}α^{ω}· από δὲ Χριστοῦ, α^{ω}φ^{ω}π^{ω}γ^{ω} ἔτος : – | ἐν μηνὶ φευρουαρίῳ κε':» – «Il presente volume medico è stato trascritto da me, Leontios monaco e ierodiacono, da Kilani di Cipro; chiunque lo apprezzi, preghi per me; è stato completato nell'anno 6091, dalla nascita di Cristo 1583; nel mese di febbraio, il 25.» Negli altri fogli si riconoscono almeno altre sei mani, tra cui, l'unica per cui è stata proposta un'identificazione è quella che ha trascritto i ff. 328r–336v, in cui è stato riconosciuto Camillo Zanetti (per l'accostamento e per altre informazioni sul codice si veda la scheda di Dieter Harlfinger in P. Moraux, Aristoteles Graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles, I. Berlin / New York 1976, 351–353; sulla tradizione testuale dei *Therapeutica* di Alessandro di Tralle e per il ruolo del codice nello stemma, si rinvia a B. Zipser, Die Therapeutica des Alexander Trallianus: ein medizinisches Handbuch un seine überlieferung, in: Selecta colligere. II. Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus. *Hellenica*, 18. Alessandria 2005, 211–234). Impossibile dire dove Leontios abbia portato a termine la copia dell'opuscolo confluito nel codice fiorentino: già Jean Darrouzès dubitava dell'origine cipriota dell'unità contenente Alessandro di Tralle (J. Darrouzès, Autres manuscrits originaires de Chrypre. *REB* 15 (1957) 131–168: 145 nr. 46), mentre Tomadakes la collocava senz'altro a Costantinopoli (Tomadakes, Μητροφάνης Θεσσαλονίκης, come sopra nota 9, 126–127); dal canto loro Constantinides e Browning hanno in-

come opera di un tal Leontios ἀναγνώστης ἱερομόναχος, cui sono ricondotti diversi manoscritti. Fra questi, il Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 318 è stato sicuramente copiato da un'altra mano, come già notato in RGK II 326e;[32] ancora diverso è il copista dello Jerusalem, Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Hagiou Saba 369 (a. 1566);[33] infine, l'analisi – purtroppo limitata a poche immagini – del codice n° 46 della Demosia Bibliotheke di Milies (**fig. 2**) mi ha reso possibile riconoscervi l'intervento di un altro Leontios – recentemente studiato da Maria Luisa Agati – responsabile anche della confezione del Jerusalem, Patriarchike Bibliotheke, Hagiou Saba 545 (a. 1594) e dell'Athena, Ethnike Bibliotheke Ellados, 282.[34] Sotto il nome di Leontios ἀναγνώστης, dunque, il repertorio riunisce ben quattro mani diverse, mentre Λεόντιος ἱεροδιάκονος è la voce sotto cui è riportata la notizia

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serito il manoscritto nella loro rassegna di manufatti ciprioti (Constantinides/Browning 274 nota 25). I copisti, d'altra parte, non offrono alcun appiglio: Demetrios Syllegardos sembra sia stato attivo solo a Creta, la mano dei ff. 328 – 336, sebbene non sembri essere quella di Camillo Zanetti, né di nessuno dei suoi collaboratori, di certo dimostra un'educazione grafica che la accosta all'ambiente veneto di fine XVI sec. (sulla confusione di questa pletora di mani con quella di Camillo Zanetti e sulla cosiddetta Camillus-Schrift, si veda da ultimo A. Gaspari, Le mani di Camillo Zanetti: il caso di scriba C (sigma), «occidental arrondi» e Francesco Zanetti, in B. Atsalos (a cura di), Actes du VIe Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque (Drama, 21 – 27 septembre 2003). *Biblioamphiastes, Parartema*, 1. Athena 2008, 347 – 358); mentre Leontios, come si è visto, lavorò in diverse aree del Mediterraneo.

32 Λεόντιος ἱερομόναχος ἐκ τῆς κόμης Γιόλου informa del contenuto del codice e si firma a f. 322r con la semplice indicazione «ἔγραψα»; tuttavia, a meno che non vi si voglia ravvisare un eccezionale esempio di *manus duplex*, sarei tentata di riferire quest' annotazione a un lettore più tardo rispetto al copista principale del volume. L'analisi formale delle due grafie, resa agevole grazie alla riproduzione digitale del Par. gr. 318, mi sembra sufficiente a suffragare tale ipotesi: le poche righe conclusive sono opera di una di quelle mani individuali perfettamente normali nel panorama grafico del XVI sec., mentre la mano principale rientra nell'alveo delle scritture di stile «epsilon a pseudolegature basse» impiegate a Cipro sin dal XII/XIII sec., studiate diversi anni or sono da P. Canart (il codice in oggetto, proveniente dal monastero dell'Encleistra, è in effetti stato riferito alla seconda metà del XII sec. da P. Canart, Les écritures livresques chypriotes du XIe au XVIe siècle, in: First International Symposium on Mediaeval Cypriot Palaeography (3 – 5 September 1984), Leukosia 1989, 27 – 53 [= *Epeteris Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon Kyprou* 17 (1987 – 1988)], ried. in Canart, Études de paléographie et de codicologie II, 853 – 879; riproduzione al link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107219719/f3.image.r=318).

33 Constantinides / Browning pl. 231.

34 Ringrazio la responsabile della Biblioteca Comunale di Milies, che mi ha cortesemente inviato alcune riproduzioni del codice n° 46. Per l'attribuzione del volume ateniese a questo Leontios Ciprio, si veda M. L. Agati, Copisti della Turcocrazia (1453 – 1600). Correzioni, ipotesi e nuove addizioni ai repertori, in M. D'Agostino-Degni (a cura di), Alethes philia. Studi in onore di Giancarlo Prato. *Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Collectanea*, 23. Spoleto 2010, 1 – 21 + 10 tavv., 14 e nota 26, cui si rimanda anche per la scarna bibliografia precedente.

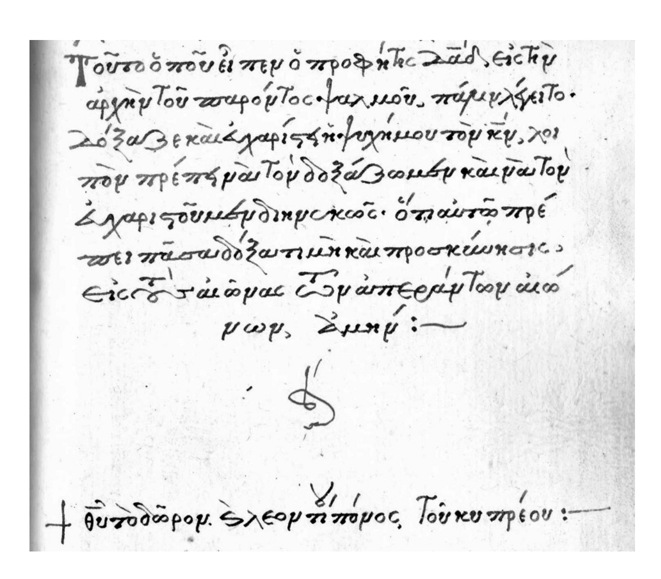


Fig. 2. Milies 46, f. 98r (particolare)

del Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. gr. 156. A quest'ultimo e al Riccardiano bisogna aggiungere l'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 48, ff. 286–312, l'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 59, ff. 549v–726r, e il Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1631, in cui la mano del copista in oggetto si trova ai ff. 147–164; questi sono i manoscritti elencati da Ernst Gamillscheg e Dieter Harlfinger nel repertorio da loro curato.[35]

Sulla base di questi esemplari è possibile rilevare alcune particolarità della grafia di Leontios Eustratios, tra cui il caratteristico *alpha* dall'occhiello aperto in alto quando in legatura con lettera successiva; il *beta* maiuscolo con ricciolo finale rivolto a destra; il *gamma* fortemente inclinato e insistito nell'interlinea

35 Il Parigino è consultabile online sulla base Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723556w. Già Sode aveva escluso dal computo l'Athos, Mone Docheiariou, 297 (Lambros 2971), attribuito dubitativamente a Eustratios da Tomadakes, Μητροφάνης Θεσσαλονίκης, come sopra nota 9, 127 e nota 4): al termine di «alcune preghiere», che costituiscono la sesta unità contenutistica del codice, una «mano moderna» si sottoscrive «θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον καὶ Λεοντίου πόνος τοῦ Κυπρίου· ἐπὶ ἔτους ,ζριβ' ἰνδικτιῶνος β' Δεκεμβρίῳ ιθ' (= 1603)» (S. Lambros, Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos, I, Cambridge 1895, 268). Le notizie riportate da Sode sulla data della morte di Eustratios permettono di escludere che si possa trattare della stessa persona. Non è impossibile che si tratti del summenzionato Leontios Ciprio, che nel codice di Milies si sottoscrive con formule simili, «θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ λεοντίου πόνος τοῦ κυπρεου» (f. 98r) e ancora, in metro, «θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, καὶ λεοντίου πόνος : ἐκ τῆς κύπρου νήσσου :» (f. 183r).

inferiore; il *theta* appuntito all'estremità superiore oppure aperto e dall'occhiello pressoché triangolare, se in legatura; lo *iota* allungato verso il basso e desinente in un ricciolo concavo a sinistra; il *lambda* sviluppato tutto nell'interlinea, dal tratto di destra più breve e ripiegato verso l'alto; il *pi* più spesso maiuscolo e dalle aste che insistono in basso; il *tau* compare in tre forme diverse, di norma è alto a bandiera, o con il tratto orizzontale ripiegato parallelamente all'asta, ma può comparire anche minuto sul rigo. Specifica di questa mano appare la tendenza a prolungare il *sigma* minuscolo nell'interlinea inferiore con una curva che avvolge la lettera successiva o lega con essa; si veda anche il vezzo di terminare il *rho* e il *phi* con uno svolazzo sinistrogiro, mentre le altre lettere con aste nell'interlinea inferiore terminano sempre ripiegando nel senso opposto. Tra le legature si possono segnalare quella di doppio *lambda*, con la prima lettera assai piccola, mentre la seconda invade l'interlinea e richiude con un ricciolo aperto a sinistra; assai comune anche il prolungamento sinuoso di *kappa* e *my* per legare con lettera successiva, caratteristica che a volte ha anche lo *csi*, realizzato con un unico movimento curvilineo; *pi*–*rho* e *tau*–*rho* inclinati a destra, realizzati tramite il prolungamento del tratto orizzontale dei primi grafemi verso il basso, per formare l'occhiello del *rho*; la legatura *alpha*–*rho*, con la vocale posta nell'interlinea superiore e la consonante realizzata con uno svolazzo. Specifiche sono anche le forme di μετά – con l'*epsilon* realizzato a forma di *stigma* e il *tau* squadrato che funge anche da cappello dell'*epsilon* stesso – e διά – in cui il calamo, nel disegnare lo *iota*, forma un brusco angolo per risalire e poi unirsi con una curva alla vocale che segue.

Le peculiarità sin qui elencate permettono di assegnare a Leontios un altro manoscritto, vale a dire l'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 132 (**fig. 3**), nel quale il cipriota intervenne, preoccupandosi di reintegrare alcune sezioni cadute. Il codice non è di per sé sconosciuto alla ricerca, in quanto l'unità principale è sottoscritta dal monaco Nikon Kalobios nell'anno 1143, finora dubitativamente ascritto all'isola di Cipro.[36] Mancano, tuttavia, studi dettagliati sul manufatto, che ne rivelino le caratteristiche materiali e aiutino a collocarlo nella storia della cultura scritta greca; si tenterà qui di ovviare parzialmente a questa mancanza, presentando i risultati ottenuti da un'indagine condotta esclusivamente sulla riproduzione digitale dell'Oxon. Barocci 132.[37]

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36 Sottoscrizione a f. 313r; cfr. Lake II, nr. 64 e pl. 164, Vogel / Gardthausen 366, Canart, Les écritures livresques (come sopra nota 32), 25 nota 19.

37 Interamente consultabile al link: http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/0623d91a-a7d9–4480-a2a4–4abeb206fa7c. Per il resto si rimanda alla sezione dedicata nel catalogo di H. Coxe, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae I. Oxonii 1853, coll. 231–232.



Fig. 3. Oxon. Barocci 132, f. 264r (particolare)

Il Barocciano è un codice pluriblocco pluritestuale, il cui corpo originario è stato esemplato, come si diceva, nel XII secolo. Dal punto di vista contenutistico, il manoscritto può essere suddiviso in due grandi gruppi: tre mani – come si vedrà tra breve – sono intervenute a vergare la prima unità testuale, corrispondente all'*Interpretatio in Psalmos* di Teodoreto di Ciro (ff. 1–272v); il secondo gruppo, invece, tramanda alcune opere minori di Basilio di Cesarea, di cui sono responsabili Nikon e Leontios, quale restauratore. Si offre qui uno schema dei blocchi di cui si compone il manoscritto:

Unità	**Fogli**	**Contenuto**
Unità A	1–32/33	Teodoreto di Ciro, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*
Unità B	34–35	
Unità C	36r–v	
Unità D	37–123	
Unità E	124–125	
Unità F	126r–v	
Unità G	127r–v	

Unità H	128 – 191	
Unità I	192r–v	
Unità J	193 – 196	
Unità K	197 – 206	
Unità L	207 – 246	
Unità M	247 – 272	
Unità N	273 – 287	*Hymnica varia*
Unità O	288r–v	Eusebio di Cesarea, *In Canticum Canticorum* (fr.) (*CPG* 3469.8) Basilio di Cesarea, *Homilia in s. Christi generationem* (*CPG* 2913)
Unità P	289 – 315	Id., Homilia ad sanctum baptisma (*CPG* 2857) Id., *Ad episcopum optimum* (*ep.* 260) (*CPG* 2900.60, 5380) Id., *In quadraginta martyres Sebastenses* (*CPG* 2863) Id., *Homilia de Spiritu Sancto* (*CPG* 2926) Id., *Ad monachum lapsum* (*epp.* 44 – 45) (*CPG* 2900.44 – 45) Germano di Costantinopoli, *In praesentationem deiparae II* (*CPG* 8008)
Unità Q	316r–v	Basilio di Cesarea, *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* (fr., *CPG* 2911)
Unità R	317 – 320	*Martyrologium (fr.)*

Le sezioni vergate da Leontios sono le seguenti: A, C, E, G, I, K, M, O. Quel che resta del manoscritto originario, vergato dal monaco Nikon, corrisponde alle unità B, D, F, H, L, P; i ff. 193 – 196 e 273 – 287 appartengono invece a un'altra mano, risalente con verosimiglianza alla fine del secolo XIII o agli inizi del successivo: i ff. 193 – 196, che contengono l'*Interpretatio in Psalmos* relativa ai salmi 102 – 104 sono stati inseriti a mo' di integrazione di una sezione caduta; l'unità N, invece, è frutto di implementazione, in quanto reca una serie di inni anonimi tratti dall'*Antico* e dal *Nuovo Testamento*, che fungono da collante tra la sezione dedicata a Teodoreto di Ciro e gli opuscoli di Basilio di Cesarea. Le due ultime unità dell'Oxon. Barocci 132 sono invece estranee al contesto originario del manoscritto: si tratta di un foglio risalente al X secolo, contenente uno stralcio del commento *In Isaiam* di Basilio di Cesarea (I 93, 130–II 3, 81) e di un binione, riferibile al XVI secolo, che racchiude un testo che non è stato ancora possibile identificare, verosimilmente di indole innografica; quest'ultima unità

doveva avere la funzione di proteggere il corpo del codice, come si può notare dalle tracce di colla presenti sull'ultimo foglio *verso* (f. 322v).

Da un punto di vista paleografico, utili per l'identificazione del restauratore del codice in oggetto con Eustratios, oltre all'impressione d'insieme, si rivelano l'*alpha* aperto (f. 267r, r. 9), il *gamma* minuscolo fortemente inclinato a sinistra (f. 28r, r. 15 ; f. 264r, r. 6 – **fig. 3**), il *delta* dalla curva appuntita (f. 36v, r. 14), il *sigma* che piega nell'interlinea inferiore e abbraccia la lettera successiva (f. 264r, r. 20) o lega con essa (f. 253r, r. 22). Tra le legature si vedano quella di *alpha–rho*, in cui la vocale trova posto nell'interlinea superiore, mentre il *rho* è realizzato in un'unica morbida curva (f. 125r, r. 1 ; f. 264r, r. 9 – **fig. 3**); *epsilon* minuscolo e corsivo con *lambda*, che si sviluppa unicamente nell'interlinea inferiore (f. 197r, r. 16; f. 264r, r. 4 – **fig. 3**); la legatura sinuosa di *pi* – maiuscolo – o *tau* con *rho* (f. 202r, r. 1; f. 201v, r. 20); *epsilon–tau* con la vocale scomposta, rappresentata da un unico ricciolo in forma di *sigma* lunato, e l'esuberante *tau* a squadra (f. 5r, r. 9 ; f. 264r, r. 9 – **fig. 3**).

L'individuazione della mano del Philoponos nell'Oxon. Barocci 132 impone di concentrare l'attenzione sulle informazioni extragrafiche che pertengono al manoscritto. L'aspetto forse più interessante della questione risiede in una nota di viaggio apposta dallo stesso Leontios a f. IIIr, che recita come segue:

> μισεύοντάς μας ἀπὸ τὴν Λεμεσὸν, ἐν ἔτι ͵αφπγʹ, ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ͵ζϟβʹ ἐν μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ, ιθʹ ἡμέρᾳ παρασκευῇ, ἤλθαμεν εἰς Πάμφον τῇ εἰκοστῇ γʹ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς, καὶ ἐκάμαμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν Πάμφον ἕως ταῖς κηʹ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς, καὶ ἐμησεύσαμεν θεοῦ κατευόδιον τὴν Βενετίαν.

Il significato dovrebbe essere all'incirca: «Partiti da Lemesos nell'anno 1584 di Adamo 7092, nel mese di aprile, il giorno venerdì 19, siamo arrivati a Paphos il giorno 23 dello stesso mese, e siamo rimasti a Paphos fino al 28 dello stesso mese, e siamo salpati per Venezia, con l'aiuto di Dio». Occorre avvertire che vi è un'incongruenza nel computo di Leontios: un semplice calcolo, infatti, mostra che l'aprile dell'anno 7092 dell'era bizantina era il 1584 secondo il computo occidentale e non il 1583. Il confronto con i calendari dell'epoca garantisce la giustezza dell'anno del mondo, piuttosto che dell'anno espresso secondo l'era di Adamo, giacché il 19 aprile 1584 era effettivamente un venerdì, mentre nel 1583 cadeva di mercoledì. È altamente improbabile che l'errore risieda nel giorno della settimana, evenienza assai rara; sono invece frequenti, anche nelle sottoscrizioni, sviste nel computo del ciclo annuale secondo abitudini poco familiari. Sembra dunque più opportuno correggere l'anno.

Insomma grazie a questa nota sappiamo che Eustratios nella seconda metà del mese di aprile 1584 si trovava a Cipro e che da lì sarebbe partito alla volta di Venezia. Quali siano le conseguenze in merito alla ricostruzione delle tappe della

vita di Eustratios lo vedremo tra breve. Per ora è opportuno sottolineare un elemento. A nostro parere, quest'annotazione potrebbe essere letta come un indizio a conforto dell'origine cipriota del codice: è assai plausibile che Leontios abbia reperito i vari blocchi del manoscritto in oggetto proprio a Cipro e abbia ivi deciso di riunirli in un unico contenitore. Un ulteriore elemento sembrerebbe indirizzare verso quest'interpretazione; si tratta di un microtesto avventizio, che è possibile leggere nel margine inferiore di f. 274r – dunque nell'unità N, trascritta dall'anonimo copista di XIII secolo –, che registra un terremoto avvenuto nel giugno del ͵αφνδ′, vale a dire il 1554, in una «νῆσος» non meglio identificata: «τὴ αυτὴν εχρ(ο)ν(ί)α ͵αφνδ′ Χ(ριστο)ῦ | εἰς ις′ υουν(ί)ου εγη|νε τὸ σῦσμὸς μέγας εφ ολῆν τῖν νησο ταυτὴν | εξαμαρ(ταν)ων[τος] τοῦ λαοὺ». Sebbene appunto non sia chiaramente esplicitato il luogo che risentì di tale fenomeno naturale, l'uso del termine ἐχρονία per indicare l'annata sembrerebbe rimandare proprio a Cipro, così come ha già notato Florentia Evangelatou-Notara a proposito di un'annotazione del tutto simile presente in un altro manoscritto.[38] Il viaggio di Leontios, che prevedeva tappe a Lemesos e a Paphos, e la registrazione dell'avvenuto terremoto da parte dell'anonimo lettore di XVI secolo indicano che parte dell'odierno Oxon. Barocci 132 e in seguito il volume nella sua interezza furono per un certo periodo proprio a Cipro. Sebbene non se ne possa avere la certezza assoluta, non sembra a questo punto azzardato – ed è anzi più economico – integrare queste informazioni con il dato paleografico e sostenere che anche l'unità risalente a Nikon sia originaria dell'isola in questione.

A questo punto ci si potrebbe domandare se Leontios avesse ancora a disposizione i fogli originali del codice che si accingeva a restaurare; forse una risposta in tal senso può essere considerata l'interruzione *ex abrupto* della copia del testo di Teodoreto di Ciro: Leontios, infatti, termina la trascrizione poco dopo l'inizio del f. 272v, con «θεωροῦμεν τὰ πράγματα», in corrispondenza di *PG* 80, 1997, l. 7, a circa 25 righe dalla conclusione dell'*Interpretatio in Psalmos*. Può darsi, dunque, che l'ultimo foglio del volume originario, con la fine dell'opera, verosimilmente trascritto da Nikon, fosse già perduto o che il testo fosse irrimediabilmente compromesso.

Ricapitolando, dunque, nel 1554 l'unità del copista C era sicuramente a Cipro, dove un anonimo lettore aggiunse l'annotazione relativa al terremoto che colpì l'isola; pochi anni dopo il volume copiato da Nikon, ormai in pessime condizioni, entrò in possesso di Leontios, probabilmente proprio a Lemessos o nella diocesi di Paphos, dove si trovava nell'aprile del 1584; fu in questo torno di

38 Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, Σεισμοὶ στὸ Βυζάντιο ἀπὸ τὸν 13° μέχρι καὶ τὸν 15° αἰώνα. *Parousia, Parartema* 24. Athena 1993, 109 – 110, su un terremoto del 1481.

tempo che Leontios rilegò tra loro i due blocchi originari, integrando le sezioni mancanti con fogli di suo pugno o altri recuperati, e formando quindi l'attuale Oxon. Barocci 132. Dopo una settimana di permanenza a Paphos, il giovane erudito proseguì il suo viaggio in direzione di Venezia, portando con sé il nuovo codice e segnando l'inizio della sua storia occidentale.

Questo codice permette di ricostruire un'ulteriore fase della vita di Leontios: nell'estate del 1584 egli fu con ogni probabilità a Venezia. Arrivato dunque a Costantinopoli a fine febbraio/inizi marzo e avendo trovato il patriarcato sconvolto da lotte intestine, decise di lasciare la città ed andare alla volta della Serenissima – probabilmente in compagnia di Margounios. Non è chiaro se i due vi siano giunti assieme; quel che è certo, perché testimoniato dalla sottoscrizione del Par. Suppl. gr. 156, è che nel settembre dello stesso anno il giovane allievo aveva fatto ritorno nella Nuova Roma.

Forse proprio a questo breve soggiorno veneziano potrebbe invece rimandare l'intervento di Leontios in un codice appartenuto a Luigi Alvise Lollino, oggi segnato Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1759.[39] Lo ieromonaco è ivi responsabile della trascrizione di un opuscolo di Niceforo Blemmida, contenuto nei ff. 81–91a, suddivisi in un quaternione e un τετράδιον di soli quattro fogli.[40]

Che si tratti del copista qui in oggetto è confermato dalla ricorrenza di forme ben individuabili, tra cui il *beta* maiuscolo con codino (f. 84v, r. 14); il *gamma* fortemente inclinato a destra e prolungato nell'interlinea inferiore (f. 88r, r. 21); il *delta* dalla sommità puntuta (f. 86v, r. 2); l'*epsilon* rappresentato da una sola

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39 P. Canart, *Recentissimus, non deterrimus*. Le texte de la Lettre II de Grégoire de Nysse dans la copie d'Alvise Lollino (cod. Vaticanus gr. 1759), in: Zetesis. Album amicorum door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. E. de Strycker. Antwerpen/Utrecht 1973, 717–731: 717 ha descritto il codice come la riunione di diversi frustuli in greco, che ruotano attorno a due assi di interesse, vale a dire Gregorio di Nissa e Niceforo Blemmida (P. Canart, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti. Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1745–1962, Città del Vaticano 1970, I 75). Molteplici sono le mani che si incontrano nel volume, a partire da quella di Luigi A. Lollino (ff. 1–7, 8r–10v, 15r–16v), cui segue un opuscolo trascritto da Margounios (ff. 11r–13v), ma vi si trovano anche alcuni esempi della scrittura di Gabriel Severos (ff. 39–61, 219v–221v, l. 10, 261r–303v). Per una descrizione puntuale del codice si rinvia alla scheda catalografica, da confrontarsi con la riproduzione digitale in linea: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1759.

40 Misure mm 212 × 153 = 25//**145**//41 × 25//**88**//40 (f. 81r); filigrane: cerchio sormontato da una stella, con contromarca ST decorata da un fiore; 26 ll. /26 rr.; tipo di rigatura Leroy/Sautel 00D1, sistema di rigatura poco visibile: i fogli sembrano essere stati rigati tutti sul verso; fasc. 1^8 (ff. 81–88), fasc. 2^4 (ff. 89–91a): richiamo orizzontale tra un fascicolo e l'altro; nessuna fascicolazione. I due fascicoli tramandano il *De anima* di Blemmida: la collazione di questo esemplare resta ancora da fare.

curva quando si trova in legatura con alcune lettere, come l'*omega* (f. 88r, r. 11) o il *rho* (f. 90r, r. 7); il *sigma* che ripiega nell'interlinea inferiore quasi ad abbracciare la lettera successiva (f. 88r, r. 11), con cui talvolta lega (tipica la legatura *sigma–theta* aperto dall'occhiello squadrato: f. 86v, r. 16); lo *psi* dal calice geometrico (f. 81r, r. 18). Legature significative sono quella di *alpha–rho*, con il *rho* rappresentato da un unico svolazzo (f. 90v, r. 3); l'*epsilon–tau* a f. 87r, r. 2; doppio *lambda* (f. 88r, r. 4); comune il *pi* maiuscolo legato *rho* (f. 82r, r. 13) e la stessa legatura con *tau* precedente (f. 90v, r. 5); sia *kappa* sia *my* legano con lettera successiva con un arco insistito nell'interlinea inferiore (f. 89r, r. 18, per entrambe le consonanti). In questa prova della scrittura di Leontios vi sono due particolarità: la prima consiste nello *csi* aperto a destra, l'unica tipologia impiegata in questi fogli (f. 83r, r. 15), che invece in altri contesti compare quasi solo in legatura con lettera successiva: si veda *csi–alpha* a f. 84r, r. 25 (stessa forma che si riscontra nell'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59, f. 664r, r. 13); la seconda è la legatura di *tau* o *rho* con lettera successiva, che, oltre alle forme già viste, compare anche con un piegamento angoloso dell'asta (f. 81v, r. 24 per *tau*; f. 84r, r. 16 per la liquida).

Allo stato attuale delle conoscenze, è impossibile formulare ipotesi sul rapporto tra Luigi Lollino ed Eustratios. Lollino, veneziano di origine, ma cretese di adozione, nacque intorno al 1552 a Candia, ma la sua famiglia decise di lasciare l'isola durante la recrudescenza degli scontri fra Cipro e Ottomani: nel codice vaticano s'incontra anche la mano di Margounios, il quale conosceva bene e stimava Lollino. I due si erano incontrati probabilmente quando entrambi si trovavano a Creta, durante gli anni dell'adolescenza e della prima gioventù.[41] Purtroppo non vi sono notizie di contatti diretti tra Lollino e lo ieromonaco cipriota, né il manoscritto in oggetto può essere considerato una prova inconfutabile in tal senso. Secondo Paul Canart, infatti, il Vat. gr. 1759 sarebbe stato assemblato solo in seguito alla morte di Lollino, quando le unità che lo compongono giunsero nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.[42] Ciò indica che la stesura da parte di Leontios dell'opuscolo di Blemmida potrebbe essere stata solo casuale e l'arrivo del blocco nelle mani di Lollino potrebbe essere stato ad esempio mediato da Margounios.[43]

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41 Su Lollino e i suoi rapporti con gli umanisti greci, si veda P. Canart, Alvise Lollino et ses amis grecs. *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970) 553–587, in particolare 556–557.

42 Canart, *Recentissimus* (come sopra 39) 717; si veda anche P. Canart, Les Vaticani Graeci 1487–1962. Notes et documents pour l'histoire d'un fonds de manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. *Studi e testi*, 284. Città del Vaticano 1979, 61–62.

43 Sugli scambi di manoscritti e libri stampati tra Lollino e Margounios si veda Canart, Alvise Lollino (come sopra 41) 561–562.

Tutti i manoscritti citati sinora mostrano una grafia assai posata ed elegante, ma non è l'unico registro attestato per Leontios, che anzi sembra aver spesso impiegato una scrittura corsiveggiante, su cui non è mai stata posta sufficiente attenzione. Per trattare di questa variante mi sembra d'obbligo partire dall'ormai più volte citato lavoro di Otto Kresten sul patriarcato di Costantinopoli, che, oltre a rivelarsi un fondamentale punto di riferimento per la ricostruzione della biografia di Eustratios, ha avuto il merito di editare per la prima volta un opuscolo relativo alle vicende di Hieremias II e dei Greci dell'antica capitale alla fine del XVI secolo. La breve narrazione in oggetto fu composta proprio dal Philoponos, mentre si trovava a Tubinga, dietro insistenza di Martin Crusius; quest'ultimo, infatti, era continuamente alla ricerca di informazioni di prima mano in merito al rapporto tra grecità e dominatori ottomani, che potessero servire da nucleo per quel denso studio che sarebbe poi stato pubblicato con il titolo di *Turcograecia*.[44] Ebbene dell'operetta di Leontios rimane una copia autografa, conservata nel Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mb 10, alle pp. 385–398 (**fig. 4**).[45]

In questi fogli Leontios sperimenta una grafia parzialmente diversa dal solito, meno curata, meno geometrica e tuttavia non meno calligrafica. Vi ricorrono le forme già incontrate, come il *beta* maiuscolo dall'uncino rivolto a destra (p. 389, r. 8 e p. 385, r. 12 – **fig. 4**), il *gamma* inclinato (p. 390, r. 5), lo *iota* prolungato nell'interlinea inferiore (p. 396, r. 11 – **fig. 4**), il *ny* minuscolo oblungo verso sinistra (p. 398, r. 3); tipiche anche le legature per διά (p. 385, r. 11) e μετά (p. 394, r. 7), ma anche il *pi–rho* (p. 385, r. 16 – **fig. 4**) e il *tau–rho* (p. 392, r. 10), cui si aggiunge talvolta anche la versione con l'*epsilon* (περ–, p. 391, r. 7). A queste forme già note se ne affiancano altre, come il *pi* minuscolo, realizzato in un unico tempo, particolarmente funzionale in caso di legamenti (p. 386, r. 2: –πο–; p. 388, r. 15: –πα–; p. 389, r. 1: –πρ–; p. 385, r. 21 – **fig. 4**); il *tau* può assumere diverse forme, da quello maiuscolo piccolino (p. 393, r. 14), al *tau* alto a bandiera, che termina con una curva sinuosa (p. 392, r. 1) e che può legare con lettera successiva (τα-, p. 393, r. 5) o antecedente, ammorbidendo i suoi tratti (p. 390, r. 17); ancora, un'ulteriore variante prevede che la traversa della dentale sia ripiegata in linea parallela all'asta (p. 387, r. 11); si veda anche la legatura di *epsilon* con *iota* (p. 396, r. 3). Ma forse gli aspetti più evidenti di questa scrittura sono la legatura del *tau* alto con *ypsilon* precedente (p. 389, r. 5) e quella di

44 M. Crusius, Turcograeciae libri octo. Basileae 1584.

45 Benché Crusius, nel vergare il titolo, si sia limitato a indicare che l'autore del racconto era un tal «Leontios», la data inserita nel margine superiore di 385 del Tub. Mb 10, «19 Mart. 1590», non lascia adito a dubbi: si è già accennato all'epistola inviata da Crusius a Margounios in cui il primo informava della visita ricevuta da parte di Eustratios e del cugino proprio in quegli stessi giorni (cfr. *supra*).

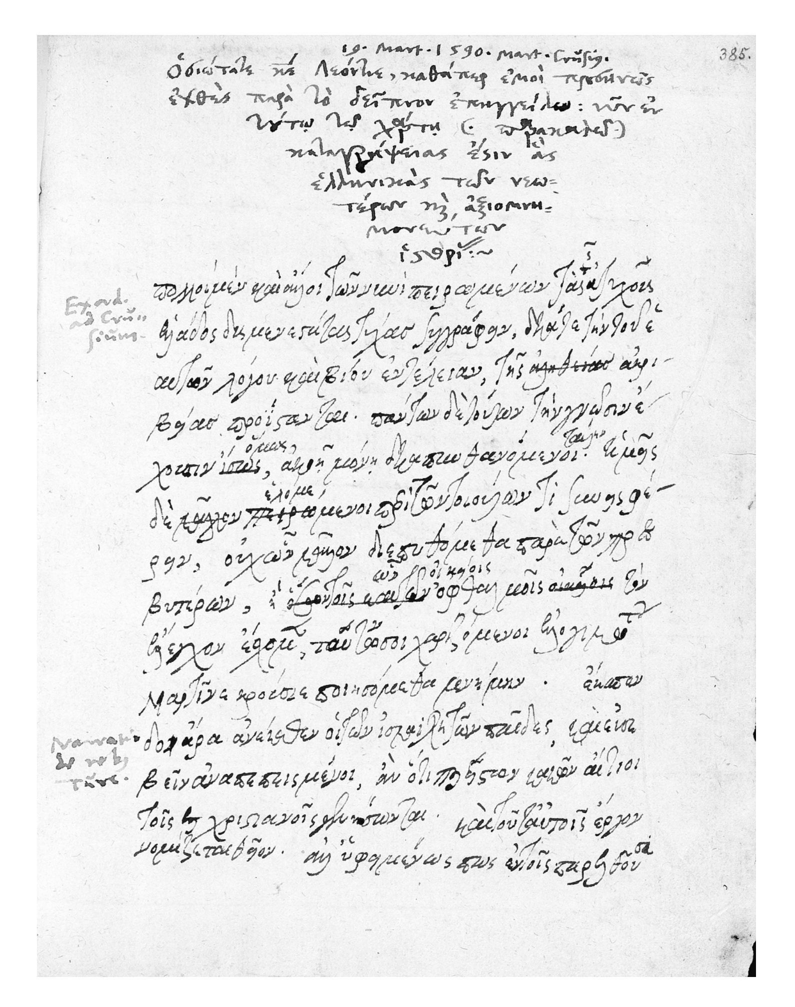


Fig. 4. Tub. Mb 10, p. 385

kappa e *my* con lettera successiva: le due consonanti ripiegano nell'interlinea inferiore per creare uno svolazzo che poi risale per formare la lettera che segue (rispettivamente: p. 388, ad esempio rr. 13, 14 e p. 385, r. 21 – **fig. 4**; p. 390, r. 11e ; p. 385, r. 20 – **fig. 4**).

E in effetti queste caratteristiche grafiche sono anche quelle più riconoscibili di un copista segnalato nel già citato repertorio di Gamillscheg e Harfinger come Leontios, responsabile della trascrizione dei ff. 2r–5v del Paris, Bibliothèque

Nationale, gr. 1130 (**fig. 5**).[46] Mi sembra che l'esame grafico testimoni l'identità di questa mano con quella di Eustratios: si vedano ad esempio il *beta* a f. 3v, r. 16, il *gamma* di f. 4v, r. 1, il *theta* isolato appuntito in alto (f. 4v, r. 19 e f. 2r, r. 9 – **fig. 5**) o dall'occhiello triangolare quando in legatura (f. 4r, r. 4), lo *iota* lungo (f. 5r, r. 18 e f. 2r, r. 1 – **fig. 5**), il *lambda* (f. 3r, r. 22), al r. 1 di f. 2r – **fig. 5**); vi compaiono sia il *tau* a bandiera, sia il *tau* morbido, dalla traversa ripiegata verso il basso, che in questi fogli è usato in maniera quasi esclusiva – a discapito anche del *tau* minuscolo, che compare raramente (ad esempio in legatura con rho a f. 3r, r. 23) –, lo *psi* squadrato (f. 5r, r. 24); tra le legature s'incontrano, *epsilon–iota* (f. 2r, r. 10 [**fig. 5**], che si affianca a una realizzazione diversa, in cui la seconda lettera è tracciata partendo dal basso verso l'alto, a formare un «8», e che si incontra nello stesso f. 2r, r. 10 – **fig. 5**), il doppio *lambda* (f. 2v, r. 6), il *my* con lettera successiva a f. 2r, r. 15 (**fig. 5**), il nesso *pi–rho* (f. 3v, r. 7); e ancora si vedano le forme particolari di διά, sebbene eseguito in modo più corsivo (f. 5v, r. 8), μετά (f. 4v, r. 3). A questo blocco andrà tra l'altro aggiunto il f. 1, anch'esso opera dello stesso Leontios, come si può notare ad esempio dal *gamma* (f. 1r, r. 6), dal *delta* aguzzo (f. 1v, r. 9), dal *sigma* che scende nell'interlinea ad abbracciare la lettera successiva (f. 1v, r. 14); e ancora dalla legatura di doppio *lambda* (f. 1v, r. 9), dal *kappa* e dal *my* in legatura (f. 1r, r. 10; f. 1v, r. 14), dal gruppo *ypsilon–tau* che si trova nel codice di Tubinga (f. 2r, r. 21); e infine dalla forma di μετά a f. 1r, r. 13, dal γάρ a f. 1r, r. 7, con il *rho* rappresentato da una linea ondulata.

Un altro elemento si aggiunge al dato grafico come supporto per l'identificazione: a f. 2r (**fig. 5**), oltre all'invocazione con il nome del copista – «Ἰησοῦ

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46 RGK II, nr. 327: sono gli stessi autori a notare l'affinità di tratteggio tra quelli che ritengono due omonimi (RGK IIA, 129, s. v.); del codice di Parigi è disponibile una riproduzione digitale: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10724018k. Questo minuto testimone (mm 233 × 188 [f. 110]) della *Vita di Barlaam e Ioasaph* attribuita a Giovanni Damasceno è il risultato di un restauro, risalente al XV sec., dell'originale pergamenaceo, conservatosi solo in parte (ff. 87 – 94, 102 – 141, 144 – 147, 151 – 156, 158 – 183); ai ff. 81r e 125v si leggono due note di possesso del monastero εκλιστων (il nome è di difficile lettura su f. 81r, mentre è eraso a f. 125v; a f. 141r è invocato il nome del papas Kosmas, egumeno del suddetto monastero: che si tratti dell'Encleistra?). Alla fine del codice è stato inserito un fascicolo in carta orientale contenente una serie di preghiere, verosimilmente vergato anch'esso nel XV sec. I fogli attribuibili a Leontios risalgono a due aggiunte posteriori, la prima riguardante il f. 1, mentre i ff. 2 – 5 formano un'unità a sé. Le caratteristiche materiali sono le seguenti: f. 1, mm 234 × 160 = mm **225**//9 × 5//**145**//15; ff. 2 – 5, mm 210 × 151 = mm 12//**168**//30 × 14//**119**//18 (f. 3); lo stato del materiale scrittorio di f. 1 rende impossibile persino individuare le vergelle; tracce di filigrana si notano invece a f. 3, dal disegno probabilmente riconducibile alla serie Arbalète 728 – 731 di Briquet, ma la scarsa visibilità rende incerti; entrambe le unità sono prive di rigatura, il numero di righe di scrittura è di 22 a f. 1r (il cui margine superiore è però perduto), variabile nei ff. 2 – 5 (si attesta a 23 rr. a f. 3r, dove l'interlinea è di 6 mm ca.).

Fig. 5. Par. gr. 1130, f. 2r

βοήθει μοι τῷ ἀναξίῳ δούλῳ σου, καὶ ῥυπαρῷ Λεοντίῳ ἀναξίῳ μοναχῷ» –, nel titolo si fa riferimento proprio al Philoponos, in quanto autore della versione in greco moderno della *Praefatio* all'opuscolo di Giovanni Damasceno sulla vita di Barlaam e Ioasaph: «ἐξήγησις […] κατηνέχθη εἰς τὴν κοινοτέραν τῶν γραικῶν διάλεκτον, παρὰ λεοντίου εὐτελοῦς ἱερομονάχου, εὐστρατίου τοῦ κυπρίου».[47] A parere di chi scrive, questo è un invito di un certo peso a non moltiplicare i personaggi coinvolti nella questione e a ricondurre tutte le testimonianze grafiche citate sinora a un'unica mano.[48]

47 In effetti ben poco si sa di Eustratios come autore: oltre alle succitate pagine relative alla situazione del patriarcato buttate giù in pochi giorni per Crusius e a questo opuscolo inserito nei fogli di guardia del codice parigino, andrà forse menzionata la teoria di Émile Legrand, secondo cui sarebbe proprio il Philoponos il Leontios ieromonaco autore di un trattatello sulla processione dello Spirito Santo pubblicato a Francoforte nel 1592 (Legrand XV–XVI, IV, 315 – 317).

48 Sarei tentata di attribuire alla mano del Leontios corsivo anche un'unità del Vat. gr. 1759, già citato supra per l'opuscolo di Blemmida. Si tratta dei ff. 33 – 38, che tramandano parte dell'ep. 24 di Giovanni Crisostomo (f. 33r, rr. 1 – 6, *inc. mut.* πληρῶσαι τέως = *PG* 52, 735, l. 19) e dell'ep. 225 (f. 33r, r. 7 – 33v, r. 7), ep. 226, f. 33v, rr.8 – 17; Gregorio di Nissa, ff. 33v, r. 18 – 38v, r. 19 (*des. mut.* διὰ τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτεδευμάτων· αὐξο-[]; diverse forme usate in questi pochi fogli sono congruenti con gli usi del copista in oggetto: il *gamma* fortemente inclinato e prolungato nell'interlinea inferiore (f. 33r, r. 3), lo *iota* lungo sotto il rigo (f. 36r, r. 17); la forma di διά, come a f. 35r, r. 17; il doppio *lambda* (f. 33r, r. 14); la legatura *pi–rho*, in cui il *pi* compare solo nella variante minuscola (f. 34v, r. 10; sporadici casi di *pi* maiuscolo a ff. 33v, r. 18 e 38r, r. 7); il *kappa* e il *my* che legano dal basso con lettera successiva (rispettivamente a f. 36v, r. 4 e f. 36r, r. 3); la legatura di *tau* con lettera precedente (f. 37v, r. 19). Vi sono però variazioni

A questo doppio paleografico Stefano Serventi ha ricondotto la trascrizione della prima unità del Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 86 inf., testimone delle *Homeliae in Acta Apostolorum* di Giovanni Crisostomo.[49] Il codice, un volume cartaceo di dimensioni piuttosto ridotte, è il risultato della collaborazione di diversi copisti, vale a dire Gabriel Severos, Metrophanes Raftopoulos e altre due mani, purtroppo ancora anonime, che Serventi ha indicato come C e D. I loro interventi si susseguono in maniera nervosa, che tradisce una mancanza di pianificazione; fa eccezione il blocco iniziale del manoscritto (ff. 1–80v), che è interamente vergato da una mano di cui lo studioso segnalava, fra i tratti caratteristici, una particolare forma di *kappa* e *my* in legatura che «scendono molto in basso prima di legarsi alla lettera successiva»,[50] proprio come nella variante corsiva della mano di Leontios. A confortare l'identificazione intervengono, visibili già nel facsimile pubblicato da Serventi (fig. VII = f. 63r), il *gamma* fortemente inclinato e che insiste nell'interlinea inferiore (r. 10), il *theta* dall'occhiello triangolare (r. 2), il *pi*, che compare tanto nella forma maiuscola, più comune negli esempi posati della scrittura di Eustratios, tanto in quella minuscola, impiegata in ambito corsiveggiante (rispettivamente rr. 13, 18); si segnalano anche la legatura di *pi–rho* a r. 4, quella di *ypsilon* con *tau* (r. 12) nonché il gruppo *epsilon–iota* nella variante che sembra essere più antica (r. 15). L'esame autoptico del codice conferma quanto affermato: a f. 17r si incontrano infatti entrambe le varianti di *csi* proprie Leontios, concava a sinistra (r. 5) e concava a destra (r. 16), anche in legatura con lettera successiva (*xi–alpha*, r. 5); entrambi gli esempi di *beta*, maiuscolo, con ricciolo terminale aperto a destra (f. 20r, r. 3) e minuscolo, dagli occhielli fortemente distanziati (f. 20r, r. 5); la particolare forma di διά (f. 62r, r. 21), μετ- (f. 4r, r. 16).

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consistenti, come la mancanza totale del *beta* maiuscolo a favore della versione minuscola bilobulare (f. 33r, r. 13), così come lo *psi*, che ha calice tondeggiante (f. 33r, r. 17); limitato invece l'uso del *delta* appuntito (f. 36v, r. 15) – sostituito da una lettera più raccolta, ripiegata a destra a toccare la lettera successiva, com'è assai evidente nella parola δέ (f. 35r, r. 6) – e del *theta* squadrato, presenti solo alcune volte (f. 34r, r. 4). Tutto sommato queste variazioni, si inseriscono su un fondo sostanzialmente comune e potrebbero essere motivate da scelte contingenti o a uno sviluppo cronologico dei gusti del copista; ciò fa propendere per assegnare, con le dovute cautele, anche questi fogli alla mano di Leontios Eustratios.

49 Serventi, Manoscritti (come sopra nota 21) 237–249, con bibliografia precedente. Sul codice si veda anche E. Martini / D. Bassi, Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, II. Milano 1906, 1032 (gr. 925).

50 Serventi, Manoscritti (come sopra nota 21) 241. La forma di *beta* individuata da Serventi, dall'occhiello inferiore sferico e più piccolo di quello superiore, si incontra anche nell'Oxon. Barocci 132, ad esempio a f. 125v, r. 26.

Dunque Leontios si occupò della trascrizione delle prime quattordici omelie e di parte della XV, sino alle parole ἐπάμυνόν μοι (f. 80v, r. 1), da dove poi prese le mosse Gabriel Severos. Occorre notare, però, che Eustratios intervenne anche in un'altra occasione, per completare f. 209r, da l. 13 (τῆς) fino alla fine del foglio, il che sembrerebbe confermare come il suo contributo alla confezione del manoscritto si sia configurato come una collaborazione. Ciò permetterebbe di collocare con un buon margine di certezza questo esempio dell'attività di copista di Leontios a Venezia, nel giugno 1589, vale a dire l'anno della sottoscrizione di mano di Gabriel Severos che si legge a f. 256v: «,αφπθ΄ μηνὶ ἰουν(ίῳ) κε :– ἐν Βενετίαις». La data è perfettamente in linea con quanto precedentemente osservato sugli spostamenti del Philoponos, il quale si deve essere trasferito in Italia proprio nell'estate di quell'anno.

Allo stesso soggiorno veneziano risale, con ogni probabilità, la trascrizione di alcune parti del München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, gr. 548. Eustratios è ivi responsabile dei ff. 1–2, 33–68, 69r, come si può inferire, ancora una volta, dal *beta* maiuscolo (f. 51v, r. 7), dal *gamma* fortemente inclinato (f. 2r, r. 5), dal *theta* dall'occhiello squadrato (f. 43v, r. 7), dallo *psi* geometrico (f. 66r, r. 10), dalla legatura *tau–rho* (f. 33r, r. 7) e dai gruppi διά (f. 61r, r. 15) e μετά (f. 2r, r. 16); propri della declinazione più corsiva sono invece il caratteristico *pi* minuscolo (f. 33r, r. 1), la legatura *epsilon–iota* (f. 55r, r. 7) e il curioso legamento di *kappa* o *my* con lettera successiva (rispettivamente ai ff. 48v, r. 2 e 2r, r. 7).[51] La scansione attuale del manoscritto è dovuta al fatto che l'unità originaria, risalente al secolo XV, e che tramanda l'*Interpretatio summulae logicae* di Pietro Ispano nella traduzione di Gennadio Scolario, era giunta a Leontios acefala: fu lui a restaurarla, grazie alla collazione con un esemplare della biblioteca di Bessarione – come testimonia la nota nel margine inferiore di f. 1r. Segue una nuova copia dell'opuscolo (ff. 33r-68r) a partire dal *Tractatus 4*, intitolato *Περὶ προτάσεων* e mutilo della fine; a f. 69r, trova posto l'*Ep.* 38, 4, 6–35 di San Basilio, donata da «Leontius Philoponus hieromonacus Cyprius» a Crusius, il quale si segnò la data – marzo 1590 – e il luogo – Tubinga.[52]

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51 Il codice è consultabile al link <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0010/bsb00108712/images/index.html>; scarse le informazioni di I. Hardt, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae, Monachii 1812, 569–570.

52 Secondo il titolo a principio del Monac. gr. 548 l'autore dell'*Interpretatio summulae logicae* (ff. 1–32) è Michele Psello (P. Moore, Iter Psellianum. A detailed listing of manuscript sources for all works attributed to Michael Psellos, including a comprehensive bibliography. *Subsidia Mediaevalia*, 26. Toronto 2005, 555–556, misc. 59; edizione in L. Petit / X. A. Sidéridès / M. Jugie (a cura di), Œuvres completes de Georges Scholarios, VIII: Fin des œuvres et des traductions philosophiques. Grammaire, Varia, Appendices divers. Paris 1936, 283–317). Per i

Ricapitolando: Leontios Eustratios fu un copista più prolifico di quanto immaginato sinora, la cui attività è da collegarsi non solo con Costantinopoli e con l'Italia, ma anche con i diversi luoghi attorno ai quali si svolse la sua biografia. È assai probabile che l'Oxon. Barocci 132, ad esempio, sia stato copiato a Cipro, mentre a un'area orientale di provincia sembrerebbe rinviare anche un codice come il Par. gr. 1631, una minuta miscellanea di testi e di mani, per il quale Leontios si servì di carta di scarsissima qualità e priva di filigrana.[53]

Tra paleografia e filologia: l'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59

A questo punto spostiamo l'attenzione su un particolare manoscritto copiato da Leontios, vale a dire il succitato Oxon. Holkham gr. 59, testimone delle opere teologiche di Niceforo I patriarca.[54] Esso è stato sinora trascurato dalla critica ed è rimasto sconosciuto a chi si è occupato della *recensio* dei testi del celebre teologo iconodulo, perciò, prima di entrare nel vivo del discorso, è opportuno dare qualche notizia sugli aspetti materiali di questo esemplare: si tratta di un volume di piccole dimensioni, di circa mm 210 × 140, composto di 91 fascicoli, tutti quaternioni, ciascuno recante una segnatura nel margine inferiore esterno del primo foglio *recto*, talvolta scritta in inchiostro rosso, più spesso nel medesimo colore nero del testo. Il manoscritto è il risultato della collaborazione di due mani, la prima, tuttora anonima, trascrive la maggior parte del volume, da f. Ir a

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ff. 33 – 68 cfr. *ibid*. 311, l. 19 – 336, l. 17: Höschel aveva segnalato a f. 33r che il testo era di paternità pselliana e aveva perduto sedici fogli al principio e due alla fine, di cui era invece dotato il suo esemplare (forse il modello per la copia dei ff. 1 – 2?); un appunto di Crusius sullo stesso f. 33r ascriveva invece l'operetta a un tal Giorgio Blemmida. San Basilio è invece edito in Y. Courtonne (a cura di), Saint Basile. Lettres, I-III; I. Paris 1957, 81 – 92: 84 – 85; sulla nota di possesso di Crusius cfr. già Legrand XV–XVI, IV 317. Le diverse unità sembrerebbero essere state trascritte in maniera indipendente l'una dall'altra e riunite in uno stesso volume dopo il marzo 1590: solo un'indagine codicologica potrà portare luce sulla questione.

53 Il prossimo passo sarà studiare più a fondo il rapporto tra scrittura, momenti e luoghi della vita di Leontios, in modo da verificare se le varianti riscontrate coesistono in maniera sincronica o hanno uno sviluppo nel tempo, ma di questo mi riservo di occuparmi in altra sede.

54 Il Par. gr. 1631 è digitalizzato al link: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723556w; si veda anche J. Darrouzès, Les manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. *REB* 8 (1950) 162 – 196: 192. Qualche ragguaglio sul codice in R. Barbour, Summary description of the Greek manuscripts from the Library at Holkham Hall. *Bodleian Library Record* 6/5 (1960) 591 – 613: 603; una nuova catalogazione dei manoscritti di Holkham Hall è stata avviata da Demetrios Skrekas.

f. 549r, con l'eccezione di una parte di f. 82r. Per il corpo del testo essa ricorre a una grafia dal *ductus* corsiveggiante, piena di svolazzi e inelegante, che risulta spesso di difficile lettura;[55] per i titoli e, in generale, in funzione distintiva, questo copista impiega una scrittura che può essere facilmente ricondotta all'ambito d'influenza della minuscola τῶν Ὁδηγῶν.[56] La seconda mano è quella di Leontios Eustratios, il quale, oltre a intervenire a f. 82r, rr. 1–8, si preoccupa di portare a termine il lavoro, trascrivendo i ff. 549v–726r.[57] Il materiale scrittorio impiegato è la carta, in entrambi i casi provvista di filigrana: se quella impiegata dal primo copista è sottile e trasparente, la carta della seconda sezione si distingue per un maggior spessore e bianchezza;[58] diverse sono anche le tecniche

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55 La scrittura potrebbe essere accostata a quella di Georgios Trombas, RGK III, nr. 124.
56 Si tratta di una scrittura ancora molto comune a quest'altezza cronologica: spunti di riflessione in M. L. Agati, Supplemento ai copisti della Turcocrazia (1453–1600) e digrafismo bizantino. *Scripta* 5 (2012) 11–29: 26–28.
57 Il codice – privo di una vera e propria sottoscrizione – è attribuito a Eustratios già in RGK II, nr. 325.
58 Nella sezione di A si trova una filigrana che replica il tipo dell'angelo inscritto in un cerchio, a sua volta sormontato da una stella, la cui contromarca è AP – simile a Briquet 652, pur dalla contromarca diversa (I: ff. III–175, 249|254 + 248|255); nel 23° τετράδιον la filigrana cambia pur mantenendo la figura dell'angelo inscritto in un cerchio e sormontato da una stella, dalle fattezze genericamente simili a Briquet 652, ma appare priva di contromarca (II: ff. 176–183, 394|397, 411|412, 417|422, 424|431?); dal fascicolo 24° è impiegato un nuovo tipo di filigrana: la stella è sostituita da una croce a braccia romboidali, mentre il cerchio poggia su una base dal vertice rivolto verso l'alto – genericamente simile a Briquet 653, con in più la base, mentre la contromarca scompare (III: ff. 184–247, 251|252, 256–375, 384–391, 392|399, 401|406, 402|405, 408|415, 418|421, 425|430, 520|527, 528–535, 544–551); seguono poi la stessa filigrana, ma con contromarca CC (IIIa: ff. 570|573 + 571|572); una filigrana simile a Briquet 642 (IV: ff. 376|382, 400|407); un'altra simile a Briquet 662 accompagnata da una contromarca CC decorata da un fiorellino trilobato (V: ff. 432–439, 456–495, 514|517); e infine un angelo inscritto in un cerchio sormontato da una croce a braccia romboidali e che poggia su una «B», privo di contromarca (VI: ff. 496–511, 515|516, 537|542?). Nella sezione di Leontios s'incontrano le filigrane III (ff. 552–559); IIIa (ff. 603|604 + 602|605, 624–630, 663–670); V (ff. 560–567, 568|575, 576–599, 600|607, 600–615); una filigrana che si avvicina ai tipi descritti in V. Mošin, Anchor watermarks. Amsterdam 1973, nr. 2365–2388, con un'ancora inserita in un cerchio, sormontato da un trifoglio – ma suddivisa orizzontalmente –, e IC come contromarca, che però è priva di decorazioni (VII: ff. 616–623, 631–638, 639–662); appare anche una filigrana non repertoriata, composta da un trifoglio con gambo e foglie laterali, il tutto poggiato su una sfera: contromarca IC (VIII: 671–678, 679|686 + 680|685, 689|692 + 690|691, 704|709 + 703|710, 711|718 + 712|717); ancora inserita in un cerchio sormontato da una stella, ma la cucitura di questi fogli è troppo stretta e ha impedito di trovare un corrispettivo specifico (IX: ff. 682|683); si riconosce infine un'ancora inserita in un cerchio sormontato da una stella, con contromarca TR (X: ff. 687|694 + 688|693, 695–702, 705|708 + 706|707, 713|716 + 714|715).

di *mise en page* sperimentate dai due copisti: il copista A riga la sua sezione alternando i tipi Leroy/Sautel 00C1 e 10D1n, mentre Leontios preferisce un tipo ricostruito Leroy/Sautel D 01D2b.[59] In generale, si nota una maggiore cura nell'attività di Leontios, sia riguardo all'aspetto generale della pagina, più ariosa e ordinata, sia per quanto concerne la scrittura, calligrafica e posata.

Questo è quanto si può osservare a un rapido esame diretto del codice. Ruth Barbour informa che lo Holkham fu tra i libri di un tal Nikolaos Mazarakes, il quale lo cedette in dono a Michail Morezenos: questi eventi devono collocarsi nell'ultimo quarto del XVI secolo o nei primi anni di quello successivo. Sappiamo, infatti, che il Morezenos vendette a sua volta il volume al fratello Iohannes, a giudicare dalla nota che quest'ultimo scrisse sul f. Iv dell'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59, a ricordo dell'evento: «͵αχς´ δεκεμβρίῳ α´»; ricorreva l'anno 1606.[60] Ciò che qui più interessa, però, è quanto Barbour riferisce della breve annotazione presente a f. 726r, che rende noto l'anno di trascrizione del manoscritto, l'anno del mondo «ζϟγ» (= 7093), ovverosia, secondo il computo occidentale, il periodo compreso tra il 1 settembre 1584 e il 31 agosto 1585.[61] Ma vi è di più: come già scriveva Barbour, l'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59 fu copiato «from an exemplar dated 831»; l'esame autoptico del codice della Bodleian Library ha permesso di verificare che fu proprio Leontios a rendere noto questo dettaglio per noi di grande importanza, esprimendosi come segue: «ὑπῆρχε δὲ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ͵ϛτλθ´ ἐτῶν». Insomma il manoscritto discenderebbe per via diretta da un modello datato 830/831 (cf. *infra* e **fig. 6**).

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59 Le misure della sezione di cui è responsabile il copista A sono nello specifico mm 28//**144**//32 × 15//**93**//139 (f. 112r); le misure dei fogli copiati da Leontios sono invece mm 26//**132**//27/6/10 × 14//**89**//27 (f. 718r). Sebbene il materiale scrittorio impiegato da Leontios, piuttosto spesso e rigido, renda difficile una valutazione certa, sembra che entrambi i copisti abbiano usato per lo più un sistema di rigatura in cui le linee appaiono tracciate sul verso del quarto e dell'ottavo foglio di ciascun fascicolo – si tratterebbe dell'inverso del sistema Maniaci 18 – che si alterna al più noto Leroy/Sautel 13.

60 Per i libri della famiglia Morezenos, si rinvia a E. Kakoulide, Ὁ Ἰωάννης Μορεζῆνος καὶ τὸ ἔργο του. *Kretika Chronika* 22 (1970) 7–78 e 389–506: 54 per l'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59. Molti di questi volumi furono acquisiti da Giulio Giustiniani, la cui biblioteca a sua volta confluì nella raccolta di Holkham Hall (M. Zorzi [a cura di], Collezioni di codici greci dalle raccolte della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Venezia 1993, 79).

61 L'indicazione «ἐν ἔτη (sic) ζϟγ» si trova subito sotto la conclusione del testo; sembra che Leontios l'abbia aggiunta in un secondo momento e probabilmente in maniera estemporanea, a giudicare dal cambio d'inchiostro e dall'eccezionalità della formulazione, ridotta al minimo rispetto alle abitudini dello ieromonaco. Come abbiamo visto, infatti, egli preferisce inserire entrambe le cronologie, sia secondo il computo bizantino, sia secondo quello occidentale, e non disdegna di firmarsi.

È chiaro che occorre indagare la veridicità di queste notizie, che farebbero dell'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59 un testimone preziosissimo: come si è accennato, infatti, esso tramanda i testi di polemica anticonoclasta composti da Niceforo di Costantinopoli. Sappiamo che quest'ultimo, patriarca negli anni 806–815, morì nell'828, dopo circa quattordici anni trascorsi in esilio, durante i quali si era appunto dedicato alla composizione di una serie di trattati polemici contro gli iconoclasti; accogliendo l'affermazione di Eustratios, dovremmo pensare che il modello dell'Oxoniense sia stato confezionato, se non da Niceforo stesso, quanto meno da un copista/*milieu* a lui molto vicino.

La storia degli studi sulla tradizione testuale delle opere teologiche di Niceforo patriarca ha avuto inizio nella prima metà del secolo scorso grazie a Robert Blake;[62] la questione è stata più di recente ripresa da Michael J. Featherstone – sulla scia del rinnovato interesse per il patriarca iconofilo suscitato dal fondamentale studio di Paul Alexander –, per essere in seguito affrontata, ma solo di scorcio, da Brigitte Mondrain.[63] In questo contesto si sono inseriti gli studi intrapresi da Alexis Chryssostalis, il quale si sta occupando dell'edizione del *Contra Eusebium* per i tipi delle *Sources Chrétiennes*.[64]

Un confronto con i manoscritti analizzati nei suddetti lavori ha permesso di constatare che le opere tramandate dall'Oxon. Holkham gr. 59 sono le stesse e nella stessa sequenza di un altro tutto Niceforo, fra i più antichi della *recensio*, vale a dire il Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 911. Ma procediamo con ordine. I codici noti alla critica sono i seguenti: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 910 (IX/

62 R. Blake, Note sur l'activité littéraire de Nicéphore Ier patriarche de Constantinople. *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 1–15.

63 Diversi sono stati i contributi pubblicati in merito da Featherstone: oltre all'edizione della *Refutatio et eversio anni synodalis 815*, dove si legge la più compiuta riflessione stemmatica sui codici niceforiani (Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815, a cura di M.J. Featherstone. *CC Series Graeca*, 33. Leuven 1997), si vedano idem, Opening scenes of the Second Iconoclasm: Nicephorus's critique of the citations from Macarius Magnes. *REB* 60 (2002) 65–111, e Idem, An iconoclastic episode in the hesychast controversy. *JÖB* 33 (1983) 179–198. L'articolo di Mondrain è il seguente: B. Mondrain, L'ancien empereur Jean VI Cantacuzène et ses copistes, in A. Rigo (a cura di), Gregorio Palamas e oltre. Studi e documenti sulle controversie teologiche del XIV secolo bizantino. Firenze 2014, 249–296. Il testo più completo in merito alla vita e alle opere di Niceforo I è di J. Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: ecclesiastical policy and image worship in the Byzantine empire. Oxford 1958.

64 L'edizione sarebbe dovuta apparire proprio nel corso del 2017, mentre alcuni lavori preparatori sono stati pubblicati ormai diversi anni fa: A. Chryssostalis, Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite du «Contra Eusebium» de Nicéphore de Constantinople. Paris 2012; Idem, La reconstitution d'un vaste traité iconophile écrit par Nicéphore de Constantinople (758–828). *Semitica et Classica* 2 (2009) 203–215.

X secolo); il già citato Par. gr. 911 (IX/X secolo); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Coisl. 93 (XI secolo); Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 682 + Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1250 (XII secolo); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 909 (XIV secolo); El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Ψ I 15 (XVI secolo).

Già Blake aveva teorizzato che la prima edizione ufficiale – per dir così – delle opere teologiche di Niceforo comprendesse due volumi; a detta dello studioso il tomo introduttivo comprendeva i trattati più brevi, vale a dire l'*Apologeticus*, gli *Antirrhetici* con i 26 *Testimonia Patrum*, il *Contra Eusebium*, l'*Adversus Epiphanidem* e infine i due opuscoli *De Magnete* e *Adversus iconomachos*. La *Refutatio et eversio anni synodalis 815* avrebbe invece occupato da sola un altro volume: quest'ipotesi si basava sull'osservazione dei soli codici conservati a Parigi, i quali recano i testi proprio nell'ordine suggerito. Tra questi il Par. gr. 1250 appariva un testimone particolarmente prezioso; a conclusione dell'*Adversus iconomachos*, infatti, si legge la seguente nota: «ἐνταῦθα τελειοῦται τὸ πρῶτον βιβλίον τῶν ἀντιρρητικῶν δύο βιβλίων τοῦ ἁγίου Νικηφόρου», mentre, accanto al titolo della *Refutatio et eversio*, troviamo l'indicazione: «ἀρχὴ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου». Secondo Blake queste postille, di prima mano del copista del testo principale, costituiscono una riprova del fatto che il progetto editoriale originario prevedeva due volumi e che il secondo dei due ospitava solo la *Refutatio et eversio*, la più lunga e l'ultima in ordine di tempo tra le composizioni del patriarca iconodulo. Quest'ipotesi è ora stata confermata anche dalle ricerche del succitato Chryssostalis, il quale ha riscontrato, in quasi tutti i testimoni della tradizione, la presenza di una nota che rinvia al «τῷ ἐν τέλει βιβλίῳ». Lo studioso ha dimostrato in maniera convincente che si tratta di un riferimento «al volume conclusivo», vale a dire proprio alla *Refutatio et eversio*.

Insomma, Blake e altri studiosi dopo di lui hanno riconosciuto nei due Parigini gr. 910 e gr. 911 due testimoni indipendenti del primo volume di cui sopra, sui quali, però, torneremo oltre. Gli altri manoscritti descrivono invece una situazione parzialmente diversa: fra questi, il manoscritto dell'Escorial fu copiato in Francia poco dopo la metà del XVI secolo da Kostantinos Paleokappas, come dono per la corona spagnola ed è una copia diretta del Par. gr. 909; quest'ultimo, a sua volta, fu trascritto nel XIV secolo, prendendo come modello il Par. gr. 910 – come ha messo in luce Mondrain. I due apografi, pertanto, non verranno qui presi in esame, e neppure un altro manoscritto poco frequentato dalla critica, vale a dire il Vat. Barb. gr. 589, risalente al XVII secolo.[65] Va invece a

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65 Il codice dell'Escorial e il Par. gr. 909 riportano le opere di Niceforo patriarca sotto il nome di Teodoro Grapto. Blake pensava che il secondo dei due fosse stato copiato nel XVI sec. e che fosse

Chryssostalis il merito di aver ricondotto la stesura dei codici Vat. gr. 682 e Par. gr. 1250 alla stessa mano, attiva nel pieno del secolo XI o nei primissimi anni del successivo; la loro scansione mette chiaramente in luce che si tratta di due codici complementari, esito di un'unica operazione editoriale: il Vat. gr. 682 riporta l'*Apologeticus* (ff. 1r–148v) e i due primi *Antirrhetici* (ff. 149–303), mentre il Par. gr. 1250 prosegue con il terzo *Antirrheticus*, il *Contra Eusebium*, l'*Adversus Epiphanidem*, il *De Magnete*, l'*Adversus iconomachos* e infine la *Refutatio et eversio.* Essi, insomma, formano assieme l'unica attestazione completa dell'edizione in due volumi, sebbene la suddivisione sia diversa dalla *vulgata:* è però proprio il copista dei due codici a dichiarare implicitamente che la scansione originaria era quella ipotizzata da Blake, proprio attraverso le note discusse *supra.*[66] Il Coisl. 93 costituisce invece una sintesi innovativa dell'edizione in due tomi; esso riporta infatti prima la *Refutatio et eversio*, poi prosegue con gli altri testi, l'*Apologeticus*, gli *Antirrhetici*, il *Contra Eusebium*, l'*Adversus Epiphanidem*, per concludere con l'*Adversus iconomachos* e il *De Magnete.*[67]

Fare chiarezza sui rapporti stemmatici tra i codici menzionati risulta particolarmente difficile, anche a causa della mancanza di edizioni critiche. Gli unici testi che sono stati finora pubblicati sono la *Refutatio et eversio*, che, come si è visto, è tramandata solo da una minima parte della tradizione – Par. gr. 1250 e Coisl. 93 –, nonché il *De Magnete*. Le edizioni sono state curate da Featherstone, il quale proponeva uno stemma bipartito: da un lato il Coisl. 93 (C), dall'altro il resto dei manoscritti superstiti, appartenenti a un'unica famiglia. Il Par. gr. 910

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una copia indiretta del Par. gr. 910: la corretta datazione e il corretto rapporto tra i due manoscritti sono stati esplicitati da Mondrain e ripresi da Chryssostalis, La reconstitution (come sopra nota 64) 208–209. Per quanto concerne il codice di Paleokappas si rimanda a idem, 209–210. Il Vat. Barb. gr. 589, manoscritto cartaceo di XVII sec. di grande formato, ha interessato gli storici dell'arte per via delle miniature che lo impreziosiscono; esso tramanda una parziale raccolta delle opere di Niceforo patriarca, non solo quelle teologiche: si apre con gli *Antirrhetici* (ff. 1–248) ed estratti dall'*Apologeticus* (ff. 248–253), poi continua con opere estranee alla tradizione che qui interessa, in particolare il *De differentia inter imaginem et crucem* e il *Breviarium historicum*. Su questo codice si veda S. de Ricci, Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina. Paris 1907 (estratto da *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 [Avril–Juin 1907], 81–125) 44–45; P. Canart / V. Peri, Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana. *Studi e Testi*, 261. Città del Vaticano 1970, 165.

66 Per ulteriori informazioni su questi manoscritti si rinvia senz'altro a Chryssostalis, La reconstitution (come sopra nota 64) 206–208, con bibliografia.

67 Featherstone, Refutatio et eversio (come sopra nota 63) xxv–xxvii. Si vedano anche Chryssostalis, Recherches (come sopra nota 64) 161–193; Chryssostalis, La reconstitution (come sopra nota 64) 205–206. Anche in questo codice è presente la nota di rimando al «τῷ ἐν τέλει βιβλίῳ» di cui si è detto *supra*: questo rinvio a un'opera che in realtà si trova in testa al manoscritto è un'ulteriore riprova dell'ipotesi di Blake relativa all'edizione originale di Niceforo.

sarebbe dunque imparentato con il Par. gr. 911 (D) e con il gruppo comprendente il Vat. gr. 682 e il Par. gr. 1250 (P). Nella stesura di questi due codici il copista avrebbe preso a modello un'ipotetica edizione γ, tenendo però conto delle lezioni del Par. gr. 911, di volta in volta inserite a margine o assunte nel corpo del testo.

Featherstone riteneva C il codice più vicino all'archetipo, teoria su cui sembrava concordare anche Chryssostalis, il quale ha però proposto un'articolazione diversa dello stemma. Il Par. gr. 910 e il Par. gr. 911 sarebbero i membri più antichi di due gruppi distinti; d'altra parte del ramo di D farebbero parte anche C e P, come già supponeva Featherstone. Secondo l'ipotesi di Chryssostalis C deriverebbe da un modello χ, da cui discenderebbe il modello del gruppo Vaticano + Parigino, denominato φ. Proprio da quest'ultimo codice φ sarebbe stato a sua volta esemplato D. Insomma, l'ipotesi di Chryssostalis è che il Par. gr. 911 testimoni una recensione più complessa, ragionata, in un certo qual modo critica, delle opere teologiche di Niceforo. Chryssostalis ha infatti affermato che D «atteste un grand souci de présenter ces écrits [*scil.* di Niceforo] au lecteur de manière claire, tant sur le plan de leur structure que sur celui de la mise en valeur de la doctrine qui est exposée», cura che, secondo lo studioso, non poteva che essere messa in relazione con l'attività di Metodio, il patriarca che segnò il ripristino del culto delle icone. Chryssostalis ha nello specifico riferito il progetto di raccolta e promozione degli scritti di Niceforo al periodo della traslazione delle reliquie del santo a Costantinopoli, avvenuta il 13 marzo 847: fu in questo periodo che il testo di Niceforo venne riletto e organizzato in capitoli, nonché dotato di una serie di segni e annotazioni marginali. In D «[...] chacun des textes contenus est bien distingué des autres par un titre différent, [...] un *Pinax* au début du manuscrit présente les numéros et les titres des chapitres de quelques-uns des ouvrages contenus, tandis que ces numéros sont rappelés en marge de chacun des textes», mentre, prima di quest'opera di rilettura, soteneva Chryssostalis, il lavoro di Niceforo era presentato in modo continuo, senza alcuna divisione: i testi che si leggono nelle edizioni moderne non erano che le parti di un unico grande trattato, composto in funzione anti-iconoclasta.

Non si intende qui proporre una nuova ipotesi stemmatica – per cui sarebbero necessari studi più approfonditi – ma fare alcune semplici considerazioni scaturite dall'osservazione di alcuni dei manoscritti citati e in particolare dell'Oxon. gr. Holkham 59 – che chiameremo H. Esso è scandito come segue:

Fogli	Testo	Titolo
1 – 16, 17	*Pinax*	
16, 18 – 220, 10	*Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*	τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νικηφόρου λόγος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀμωμήτου καὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς ἡμῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ κατὰ τῶν δοξαζόντων εἰδώλοις προσκεκυνηκέναι
220, 11 – 307, 11	*Antirrheticum I*	ἀντίρρησις καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Μαμωνᾶ, κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σαρκώσεως, ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀθέως κενολογηθέντων ληρημάτων
307, 12 – 340, 11	*Antirrheticum II*	ἀντίρρησις β', ἀρχῆς τῆς δευτέρας ἐρωτήσεως τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μαμωνᾶ
340r, 12 – 354v, 1	*Antirrheticum III*	ἀντιρρήσεων γ'
454v, 2 – 489v, 4	*Testimonia patrum*	προοίμιον τῶν ὑποκειμένων χρήσεων
489v, 5 – 588r, 19	*Antirrheticus adversus Eusebium*	ἀντίρρησις καὶ ἀνασκευὴ τῶν Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ἐπιφανίδου λόγων, τῶν κατὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ σαρκώσεως ληρωδηθέντων
588v, 1 – 657v, 19	*Adversus Epiphanidem*	κατὰ Ἐπιφανίδου
658, 1 – 679, 12	*De Magnete*	ἐπίκρισις ἤτοι διασάφησις τῶν οὐκ εὐαγῶς ἐκληφθεισῶν κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων χρήσεων γενομένη παρὰ τῶν προεστώτων τοῦ ὀρθοῦ ἐκκλησίας δόγματος
679, 13 – 726, 16	*Adversus Iconomachos*	τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶς τετολμηκότων εἴδωλον ὀνομάσαι, τὸ θεῖον ὁμοίωμα· ἔτί τε καὶ τί ἐστι γραπτὸν καὶ περιγραπτὸν, καὶ πῶς νοητέων τὸ οὐ ποιήσεις πᾶν ὁμοίωμα, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ἕπεσθαι ταῖς πατρικαῖς παραδόσεσιν· ἀνασκευή

τε τῶν δυσσεβῶς ἐκληφθῆς (*sic*) πατρικῶν ῥήσεων παρὰ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχθρῶν

Il codice in oggetto è dunque un ulteriore esemplare del primo volume dell'antica edizione di Niceforo teologo. A questo punto occorre verificare quali siano i suoi legami con gli altri testimoni dello stesso volume, vale a dire il Par. gr. 910 e il Par. gr. 911 – da questo momento in poi E e D. Eccone il contenuto:

E	D
	1–5, *Pinax*
1–81, *Apologeticus*	5v–110v, *Apologeticus*
82–185, *Antirrhetici*	111–240, *Antirrhetici*
187–229, *Contra Eusebium*	241–294, *Contra Eusebium*
229v–259v, *Contra Epiphanidem*	294–332v, *Contra Epiphanidem*
260–287, *Vita Nicephori*	332v–343v, *De Magnete*
	343v–369v, *Adversus iconomachos*

E è un codice della fine del IX/inizi del X secolo in precario stato di conservazione.[68] Il danno più cospicuo si osserva sul foglio iniziale, tanto che il titolo dell'opera risulta illeggibile, nonostante una mano successiva abbia tentato di restituirne il testo. È impossibile dire se il nome di Teodoro Grapto sia stato inserito in sede di trascrizione del codice o meno; sta di fatto che esso ha avuto un ruolo significativo nel determinare la storia successiva del codice.[69] Questo,

68 Il Par. gr. 910 è stato ricondotto al IX sec. da Mondrain, L'ancien empereur (come sopra nota 63) 266; Pasquale Orsini ne colloca la scrittura «a cavallo tra IX e X secolo»: P. Orsini, Minuscole greche informali del X secolo, in Atsalos, Actes (come sopra nota 31), 41–69 + XVI tavv., 59; il luogo di produzione è ignoto, ma appare scontato pensare a Costantinopoli: sembra assai probabile, infatti, che il codice sia sempre stato conservato nella capitale, dove fu variamente consultato e postillato, fino a quando nel XIV sec. ne fu tratta la copia voluta da Giovanni VI Cantacuzeno (sul Par. gr. 909 si veda *supra*). In epoca moderna Nicolas Sophianos, per motivi catalografici, ha aggiunto il titolo a f. 1r, ove si legge anche il monogramma «Λσ», chiaro indizio che il Par. gr. 910 appartenne alla collezione di Ianos Lascaris (cfr. D. Muratore, La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi. *Hellenica*, 32. Alessandria 2009, nota 22).

69 Featherstone riportava come segue la prima linea del titolo, con l'attribuzione a Teodoro Grapto: «του μακαριου [θεο]δορου [αδελφου του αγι]ου θεοφανου του γραπτου […]». Lo studioso ha ricondotto l'operazione di restauro e di attribuzione a Niceforo Gregora (Featherstone, An iconoclastic episode, come sopra nota 59, 183), mentre Blake, Note sur l'activité litteraire (come sopra nota 62) 8 pensava che il titolo riportasse il nome del Grapto sin dalla

infatti, è l'unico titolo presente nel manoscritto, comprensivo di tutte le opere di Niceforo patriarca; queste ultime, a loro volta, risultano prive dell'articolata suddivisione in capitoli che si riscontra invece in D – e in H. Senza entrare nel dettaglio, in E spiccano la mancanza dell'*index operum* iniziale – che in D e nel codice di Oxford replica la suddivisione interna – e dei due trattatelli, *De Magnete* e *Adversus iconomachos*, al posto dei quali compare la *Vita Nicephori*.[70]

Già le osservazioni qui proposte basterebbero a mettere in dubbio la parentela diretta tra E e H. Ora, invece, il contenuto del libro confezionato da Leontios appare perfettamente congruo con quello di D.[71] Si veda il prospetto che segue:

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confezione del manoscritto; a sua volta Chryssostalis ha supposto che il titolo fosse stato modificato in un ambiente legato alla memoria di Teodoro Grapto e si è espresso a favore del monastero di Chora, subito dopo il ristabilimento del culto delle icone: secondo lo studioso l'ipotesi sarebbe avvalorata proprio dall'utilizzo che del codice si fece nel *milieu* di Gregora qualche secolo dopo (Chryssostalis, Recherches 48–49). È impossibile esprimersi in merito alla cronologia dell'errore d'attribuzione, mentre il dato paleografico induce inevitabilmente a scartare l'ipotesi di Featherstone che il restauro sia stato effettuato da Gregora; contrario a quest'ipotesi era già Chryssostalis, La reconstitution (come sopra nota 64) 48–49, il quale, forse più opportunamente, individuava nel titolo la mano di Jean Boivin, bibliotecario del re di Francia dal 1692 (Chryssostalis, ibid. 45).

70 Chryssostalis, osservando appunto che in calce al manoscritto si trova la biografia del santo, ha definito il Par. gr. 910 un «livre-relique», vale a dire un volume destinato alla conservazione della memoria del santo difensore delle immagini, confezionato e custodito in un *milieu* monastico (Chryssostalis, ibid. 204): lo studioso, tuttavia, non si è reso conto della presenza di uno snodo intertestuale, in cui alla conclusione del *Contra Epiphanidem* si affianca quella di un τετράδιον. La *Vita Nicephori* comincia su un nuovo fascicolo ed è scandita in maniera eccentrica rispetto alla fascicolazione del resto del manoscritto: essa infatti è stata copiata su un binione, cui segue un quaternione. Le diverse dimensioni dello specchio scrittorio, nonché un certo disordine nella presentazione generale della pagina, sconosciuta al resto del volume, inducono dunque a pensare che la biografia del patriarca non facesse parte del progetto originario del codice, e che anzi vi sia stata aggiunta in un secondo momento. Le ragioni di questa modifica rispetto al piano originario, come ricostruito da Blake e dai suoi successori, non possono essere verificate: che il modello del Par. gr. 910 risalisse a un periodo precedente la composizione del *De Magnete* e dell'*Adversus iconomachos* non sembra plausibile, giacché nel codice si ravvisano i richiami alla *Refutatio et eversio* di cui si è parlato *supra*; quest'ipotesi, pertanto, potrà essere considerata valida *solo* nel caso in cui si rivedesse l'intera cronologia della composizione delle opere di Niceforo patriarca.

71 Featherstone, Opening scenes (come sopra nota 63) 70 e *passim*. Qualche ragguaglio sulla materialità del codice: ff. I–III, 369, I–II; diverse foliazioni moderne: quella più corretta si trova nell'angolo superiore esterno (ripete però il numero 202); fascicoli: 1^6 (ff. 1–6), 2^9 (ff. 7–15; 1 + 8: f. 7 solidale con una brachetta), $3-10^8$ (ff. 16–79), 11^7 (ff. 80–86; 8–1: f. 83 solidale con una brachetta), $12-46^8$ (ff. 87–365), 47^4 (ff. 366–369). Tracce di numerazione di fascicoli a partire dal τετράδιον quindicesimo (f. 159, ζ'), sino al fasc. 46, segnato λα'. Misure dell'unità A:

H	D
1 – 16, *Pinax*	1 – 5, *Pinax*
16 – 220, *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*	5v–110v, *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*
220r–489v, *Antirrhetici et Testimonia Patrum*	111 – 240, *Antirrhetici et Testimonia Patrum*
489v–588r, *Contra Eusebium*	241 – 294, *Contra Eusebium*
588v–657v, *Adversus Epiphanidem*	294 – 332v, *Adversus Epiphanidem*
658 – 679, *De Magnete*	332v–343v, *De Magnete*
679 – 726, *Adversus iconomachos*	343v–369v, *Adversus iconomachos*

Per verificare il rapporto tra i due manoscritti si è proceduto alla collazione dell'unico testo da essi tramandato che sia stato edito criticamente, vale a dire il *De Magnete*.[72] Da quest'analisi è emerso lo stretto legame di H con la famiglia cui appartengono P e D, ma le connessioni con D sono impressionanti: anche solo limitandosi all'analisi delle omissioni, è chiaro che tutti i vocaboli che mancano nel Parigino mancano anche in H; e si tratta degli unici due manoscritti che presentino accordo di omissioni in contrasto con il resto della tradizione. Altri accordi riguardano lezioni particolari, innovazioni che non sembrano essere di origine poligenetica (quasi all'inizio del testo, dove Featherstone edita ἠσφαλισμένους D e H hanno προησφαλισμένους [*De Magnete*, cap. 1, Featherstone p. 75, l. 15]; ἀπελεγχόμενον del gruppo DH è negli altri codici ἀμπεχόμενον [*De Magnete*, cap. 3, Featherstone p. 79, l. 20], ma sono solo alcuni esempi). Da questo punto di vista appaiono particolarmente interessanti alcuni casi di correzioni presenti in D: il più significativo è il passo del cap. 1, Featherstone p. 75, ll. 9 – 10, che nell'edizione compare come «ταύτῃ στοιχεῖ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ»; la *scriptio continua* ha evidentemente creato alcuni problemi nello scioglimento della frase, che in D era ταύτης τύχει τῇ ὁμολογία. Ora, la correzione di prima mano del copista ha dato l'esito seguente: «ταύτηστύχη τῇ ὁμολογία», perciò la frase può essere letta come ha fatto Featherstone, «ταύτη στύχη», oppure, come ha evidentemente fatto Eustratios, «ταύτης τύχη», che risultava più compren-

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mm 363 × 266 = mm 4/36//**262**//61 × 25/6//**180**//55 (f. 64r); unità B: mm 364 × 270 = 4/36//**263**//61 × 25/6//**180**//59 (f. 183r). Sistema di rigatura Leroy/Sautel 3.1, tipo di rigatura Leroy/Sautel 01C1a (ma talvolta la lineazione prosegue sin verso la foratura esterna). Per altre informazioni si rinvia al già citato Chryssostalis, Recherches (come sopra nota 64) 133 – 159.

72 Se ne presentano qui solo alcuni aspetti. I risultati completi della della collazione con Featherstone, Opening scene (come sopra nota 63) = Featherstone si possono leggere in *Appendice*.

sibile rispetto agli errori di iotacismo.[73] Laddove invece il codice di Leontios si discosta da D, si verificano diversi casi: escludendo le discrepanze collegate alla confusione tra lettere o gruppi di lettere dallo stesso suono, alcune differenze si lasciano facilmente spiegare come errori d'aplografia (come ἀντεξιών in luogo di ἀντεπεξιών [*De Magnete*, cap. 5, Featherstone p. 83, l. 13]) o come scelte non prive di una volontà di semplificare il dettato (ἐκπληττόμεθα invece di ἐκπεπλήγμεθα [*De Magnete*, cap. 2, Featherstone p. 77, l. 8] e con probabilità anche συνομιλῶν invece di ἐνομιλῶν [*De Magnete*, cap. 9, Featherstone p. 97, l. 34]); si notano inoltre inversioni di termini, anch'esse eccentriche, che non è escluso lascino trapelare il gusto personale del copista – ma sarebbero necessarie ulteriori indagini in merito: si veda ad esempio λαμπρὰ καλεῖσθαι λαμπόμενα ποιεῖ, dove il resto della tradizione riporta λαμπρὰ καλεῖσθαι ποιεῖ τὰ λαμπόμενα (*De Magnete*, cap. 5, Featherstone p. 87, l. 5). Nel corso del lavoro di copia, Eustratios ha talvolta saltato alcuni termini, che invece compaiono tanto in D quanto negli altri manoscritti del *De Magnete:* si tratta di omissioni, dunque, che non appaiono significative per la ricostruzione delle parentele tra i codici. Sono pochi i casi in cui H riporta lezioni apparentemente prive di spiegazione; esse, tuttavia, non sono tali da giustificare la derivazione di H da un manoscritto diverso da D.[74]

L'ipotesi più economica è in effetti che Leontios abbia avuto tra le mani proprio il codice Parigino. Anche l'esame codicologico sostiene quest'ipotesi. Il primo dato materiale a favore concerne l'ordine in cui vengono presentati i testi nei due manoscritti in questione: l'analisi autoptica di D, infatti, permette di reperire la numerazione originale dei fascicoli, parzialmente asportata dalla rifilatura del manoscritto. Il primo numerale si legge a f. 159r, che costituiva il fascicolo 7° (ζ'), da cui la fascicolazione prosegue, con vicende alterne, sino al trentaduesimo τετράδιον (λ[β'], ff. 358 – 365). È evidente che D si compone di due unità, una delle quali – numerata da [α'] a [λγ'] – inizia a f. 111, vale a dire con l'attuale quindicesimo fascicolo, mentre il primo blocco termina a f. 110, come

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73 Come notava già Featherstone 71 – 72 il Parigino ha subito diversi emendamenti nel corso dei secoli, quasi tutti accolti da H: la mancanza di alcuni interventi potrebbe essere un appiglio per spostare questi ultimi a un arco cronologico successivo alla copia dello Holkham. Si tratta comunque di soli cinque casi (cfr. *Appendice*).

74 Si riportano qui per completezza, ma si veda anche l'*Appendice*: *De Magnete*, cap. 1, Featherstone p. 73, l. 8: ἐλήλυθεν] ἐλελυθῆναι H (f. 658r, r. 13); *De Magnete*, cap. 5, Featherstone p. 83, l. 21: τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ ὄνομα] τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ὀνόματος H (f. 663v, r. 12); *De Magnete*, cap. 5, Featherstone p. 87, l. 20: παρὰ δὲ ἀγγέλου] παρὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων H (f. 665v, r. 16); *De Magnete*, cap. 7, Featherstone p. 93, l. 21: μηκέτι μὴ δὲ γένεσιν] μηκἔτι καὶ γένεσιν H (f. 668v, r. 12); e il già citato *De Magnete*, cap. 9, Featherstone p. 97, l. 34: ἐνομιλῶν] συνομιλῶν H (f. 671v, r. 10).

segnalato tra l'altro da un ἄγραφον che occupa quasi per intero il *verso* del foglio in questione.[75] È probabile che i due blocchi siano stati confezionati separatamente per essere riuniti in un secondo momento, ma sembra che l'unità I (ff. 1–110) non abbia mai circolato autonomamente: l'indice delle opere (ff. 1–5) e l'*Apologeticus* (ff. 5v–110v), in effetti, costituiscono sì un'aggiunta successiva, ma funzionale al completamento del codice. Che il procedimento di confezione di D sia stato questo è suggerito dal fatto che l'*Apologeticus* inizia sul *verso* del foglio conclusivo dell'*Index*, il che sembra indicare che la copia di questi due testi sia stata progettata e realizzata in un unica campagna scrittoria, a integrazione dell'unità II (ff. 111–369).[76] Come è stato dimostrato da recenti studi, una simile situazione codicologica ha normalmente alla base una pluralità di modelli;[77] così, anche D potrebbe essere il risultato della copia di due manoscritti distinti. Le motivazioni per quest'articolazione possono essere molteplici – danni materiali dei codici di riferimento, loro parzialità nel tramandare Niceforo: di certo il fatto che l'*Apologeticus* sia stato inserito all'inizio del codice è frutto di una scelta precisa. Non è impossibile che a monte di questa scelta vi sia stata la semplice replica dell'ordine presentato da almeno uno dei due modelli, e anzi il fatto che anche E testimoni lo stesso ordine potrebbe indicare che anche prima della confezione di D esisteva un manoscritto che riportava le opere teologiche di Niceforo nell'ordine ricostruito da Blake per il primo volume della loro edizione ufficiale. Dubbi possono essere piuttosto sollevati in merito agli opuscoli con cui si concludeva il volume: erano effettivamente previsti il *De Magnete* e l'*Adversus iconomachos* o quest'inserzione costituisce un'innovazione di D? Il confronto con P non aiuta, giacché è chiaro che il copista che lo ha confezionato, mentre lavorava, ha avuto sotto gli occhi D; così come non è dirimente la testimonianza di C, che nella copia inverte i due opuscoli e per il *De Magnete* riporta un testo che si discosta spesso da quello di D. Giacché E sostituisce – in un secondo

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75 Si tratta di quella che viene ormai comunemente chiamata cesura testuale maggiore (F. Ronconi, I manoscritti greci miscellanei. Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII. *Testi, studi, strumenti*, 21. Spoleto 2007, 20–22).

76 Le ultime tendenze dell'analisi codicologica hanno messo in luce come unità di produzione e unità di circolazione non sempre coincidano: per un punto della situazione si rimanda a P. Andrist / P. Canart / M. Maniaci, La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale. *Bibliologia*, 34. Turnhout 2013; utile anche P. Andrist / P. Canart / M. Maniaci, L'analyse structurelle du codex, clef de sa genèse et de son histoire, in A. Bravo García / I. Pérez Martín (a cura di), The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon: three hundred years of studies on Greek handwriting. Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography (Madrid–Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008). *Bibliologia*, 31 A–B. Turnhout 2010, I, 289–299).

77 Ronconi, Manoscritti (come sopra nota 75) 21–22, con bibliografia precedente e casi notevoli nelle note.

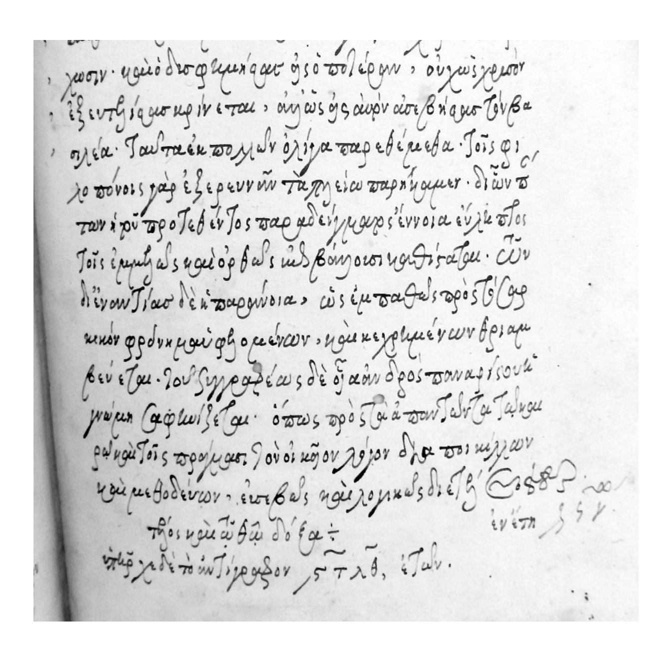


Fig. 6. Oxon. Holkham gr. 59, f. 726r

momento – i due trattatelli con la biografia di Niceforo, non è impossibile che l'originario primo volume dell'edizione niceforiana prevedesse solo i testi sino all'*Adversus Epiphanidem* e che fosse data ai copisti la possibilità di integrare la raccolta secondo interessi più o meno personali.

In quest'ottica la scansione codicologica e testuale del parigino costituisce un ulteriore tassello per sostenere l'ipotesi che esso abbia funzionato da modello per H. A tal proposito converrà tornare a ragionare su quanto Eustratios ha scritto al termine della trascrizione: «ὑπῆρχε δὲ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ͵στλθʹ ἐτῶν» (**fig. 6**). Non vi è ragione di dubitare della buona fede di Leontios nel riportare quest'informazione, che potrebbe avere alla spalle due situazioni diverse: la prima vede il codice di Oxford quale discendente diretto di D, che dunque sarebbe da identificare con il codice dell'830/831; la seconda implica per i due testimoni un modello comune *z*, da collocare cronologicamente a ridosso della morte di Niceforo patriarca. Ebbene, D è dotato di una sottoscrizione a f. 369v, purtroppo parzialmente cancellata: «[ἐγρά(φη)] διὰ χε(ιρὸς) Στεφά(νου) ελαχ(ίστου) (μοναχοῦ) (καὶ) πρε(σβυτέρου) […] ͵ϛτλ[θ]ʹ». Benché non si leggano gli elementi che precedono il numerale, è naturale pensare che rimandi all'anno del

mondo in cui fu completata la copia del volume: si tratta dell'830/831.[78] L'esame paleografico del Parigino permette di escludere che quest'ultimo sia stato trascritto in una data così alta; la disposizione delle parole e delle lettere nella nota succitata, ben staccate le une dalle altre, potrebbe indicare che siamo di fronte a una sottoscrizione di seconda mano, vale a dire che il copista di D abbia trascritto quel che leggeva nel manoscritto preso a modello. Ciò spiegherebbe tra l'altro le curiose abbreviazioni della sottoscrizione, che l'amanuense responsabile del Parigino ha ricopiato senza sciogliere poiché non era in grado di comprenderle. L'ipotesi non sarebbe in contrasto con quanto affermato sinora e permetterebbe di comporre le due linee di indagine proposte sopra.

Se dunque si accoglie l'ipotesi che il copista di D abbia inteso riprodurre fedelmente il modello che aveva tra le mani, giungendo a ricopiarne anche la sottoscrizione, sembrerebbe ormai inutile aggiungere un ulteriore manoscritto, per di più perduto, alla *recensio* niceforiana. Alla luce di quanto osservato sinora, appare più economico sostenere che la sottoscrizione di D dovesse essere ancora leggibile verso la fine del XVI secolo, quando Leontios evidentemente la lesse e ne appuntò gli estremi cronologici sul volume che si accingeva a completare.

La tipologia e l'ordine dei testi presentati da D e H, la collazione del testo del *De Magnete*, nonché la data presente su D e riportata dal Philoponos su H, consentono, in conclusione, di sostenere che quest'ultimo sia una copia diretta del codice conservato alla Bibliothèque nationale de France di Parigi.

Appendice

De Magnete Featherstone

cap. 1, p. 73, l. 8	προηρημένοις] προειρημένοις codd. (H, f. 658r, r. 9)
cap. 1, p. 73, l. 8	τῆς] DPH (f. 658r, r. 9) : τῇ C
cap. 1, p. 73, l. 6	μὴ πιστεύειν παντὶ πνεύματι] μὴ πιστεύειν ἐν παντὶ πνέυματι H (f. 658r, rr. 10–11)
cap. 1, p. 73, l. 8	ἐλήλυθεν] ἐλελυθῆναι H (f. 658r, r. 13)
cap. 1, p. 73, l. 13	ὡρμῆσθαι] DCH (f. 658r, r. 15) : ὁρμᾶσθαι P
cap. 1, p. 73, l. 15	κεκτημένους] DPH (f. 658r, r. 18) : κετκημένος C
cap. 1, p. 75, l. 3	τετελειωμένους] DPH (f. 658v, r. 2) : τετελειομένους C
cap. 1, p. 75, l. 3	βεβαιότατα] DPC : βεβαιώτατα H (f. 658v, r. 2)

78 Neanche l'uso degli infrarossi ha permesso di ricavare granché.

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 4 βελτίονος] DPC(p. corr. ex ω) : βελτίωνος H (f. 658v, r. 4)

cap. 1, p. 75, ll. 9 – 10 ταύτῃ στοιχεῖ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ] ταύτης τύχη[a] τῇ ὁμολογία < ταύτης τύχη[b] τῆς[c] ὁμολογίας[c] < ταύτης τύχει[d] τῇ ὁμολογία D : ταύτης τύχη τῇ ὁμολογία H (f. 658v, r. 11) [a] La *scriptio continua* rende difficile propendere per ταύτης τύχη o al contrario per ταύτη στύχη, come vorrebbe Featherstone: da questo deve essere stato originato anche l'errore di Eustratios. [b] η supra rasuram scriptum [c] ς ss. et postea bis erasi [d] ει postea erasus

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 11 προϊόν] D(p. corr.)P(p. corr.)C : προιών D(a. corr.)H (f. 658v, r. 13)

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 11 ἀπηκριβωμένως] D(p. corr. a. m.)P : ἀπηκριβομένως C : ἀπηκριβωμένος D(a. corr.)H (f. 658v, r. 13)

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 12 σπουδάζουσιν] DCH (f. 658v, r. 14) : σπουδάζειν καὶ P(p. corr.)

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 13 διακέλευσις] DCH (f. 658v, r. 16) : παρακέλευσις P

cap. 1, 75, l. 14 ἀπηχοῦσα] DPH (f. 658v, r. 17) : ἠχοῦσα C

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 15 ἠσφαλισμένους] προησφαλισμένους D(προ add. s. l.)H (f. 658v, r. 19)

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 16 μήτε τῇ φιλαυτίᾳ] τῇ om. DH (f. 659r, r. 1)

cap. 1, p. 75, ll. 25 – 26 κατὰ κρημνῶν] κατακρημνῶν H (f. 659r, r. 14)

cap. 1, p. 75, l. 32 νήφειν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν] νήφειν δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμᾶς H (f. 659v, r. 3)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 6 ἔχομεν] εἴχομεν codd. (H, f. 659v, r. 9)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 7 ἕνεκεν] εἵνεκεν codd. (H, f. 659v, r. 10)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 8 ἐκπεπλήγμεθα] ἐκπληττόμεθα H (f. 659v, r. 11)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 10 φθονήσας] φθονέσας DH (f. 659v, r. 14)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 11 καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν] D(τὴν add. in marg.)CH (f. 659v, r. 15) : τὴν om. P

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 12 ἐπιβολῆς] DPH (f. 659v, r. 17) : ἐπιβουλῆς C

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 28 ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς καὶ λογίμοις] C : ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς τε καὶ λογικοῖς corr. e ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς καὶ λογίμοις D ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς τε καὶ λογικοῖς P ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς καὶ λογικοῖς H (f. 660r, r. 16)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 36 πρότερον τινῶν λόγων] πρότερων τινων λόγων D(p. corr. ex τινὼν) : πρότερον τίνων λόγων H (f. 660v, rr. 7 – 8)

cap. 2, p. 77, l. 40 τράπεσθαι] D(a. corr.)CP : τραπέσθαι D(p. corr.)H (f. 660v, r. 14)

cap. 2, p. 79, l. 4 προαχθείσῃ] προαχθείση DPH (f. 660v, r. 17): προαχθήσει C

cap. 2, p. 79, l. 5	προ<σ>θέσεις] P(p. corr.) : προθέσεις DCP(a. corr.)H (f. 661r, r. 1)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 12	κατάρξαντας] DCH(f. 661r, rr. 9 – 10): κατάρξαντα P
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 17	συγγραφή] CD(a. corr.) : ἐπιγραφή D(p. corr. e. m. [?])PH (f. 661r, rr. 14 – 15)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 17	ἡ ἔξωθεν] ἡ om. DH (f. 661r, r. 16)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 19	ἱερέως] DPH (f. 661r, r. 19) : ἱερῶς C
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 20	ἀμπεχόμενον] ἀπελεγχόμενον D(e corr. a. m.)H (f. 661r, r. 19)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 26	καθ' ἑκατέραν] καθ' ἑκατέρου codd. (H, f. 661v, r. 9)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 29	περιοικίς] περιοίκησις DH (f. 661v, r. 12)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 30	Μάγνητες] μαγνήταις DH (f. 661v, r. 14)
cap. 3, p. 79, l. 32	μεῳκηκότων] μετωκηκώτων DPH (f. 661v, r. 17)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 9	προειρημένων] D(p. corr. a. m.)CH (f. 662r, r. 14) : προηρημένων D(a. corr.)P
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 10	παραστήσομεν] παραστήσωμεν DH (f. 662r, r. 15)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 13	ὁ ἕλλην] DCH (f. 662r, add. in marg.)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 13	τὸν μέντοι] codd. (H, f. 662r, r. 19)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 16	ἀλλ' ὁ] ἀλλά DH (f. 662v, r. 3)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 18	οὐδ'] DCH (f. 662v, r. 5) : οὐδέ P
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 18	βοῶν ἢ προβάτων] D : προβάτων ἢ βοῶν (f. 662v, rr. 5 – 6)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 21	ἐκλήθη, εἰ] D(p. corr. a. m., –η εἰ– supra ras.)CPH (η ss.; f. 662v, rr. 8 – 9)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 23	παριστάναι] παρεστάναι DPH (f. 662v, r. 11)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 30	τῆς […] προσεγορίας] DCH (f. 662v, r. 19) : τῆς […] προσεγορία P(p. corr.)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 31	ὁ μὲν] D(p. corr. a. m. [?])H (f. 662v, r. 19) : ὁ ἐν D(a. corr.)
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 31	ὥρα] D(p.corr.)PH (f. 663r, r. 1) : ὅρα D(a. corr.)C
cap. 4, p. 81, l. 32	διασκοπεῖσθαι] διασκοπῆσαι D(p. corr.; η supra ras.; ras. intra σ et α)H (δια– ss.; f. 663r, r. 2)
cap. 4, p. 83, l. 5	πρὸς] D προς H (f. 663r, r. 12) : πρὸς δέ P
cap. 4, p. 83, l. 5	περὶ τίνων] DPH (f. 663r, r. 13) : περίνων C
cap. 4, p. 83, l. 10	οὐδὲ βούλεται] DCH (f. 663r, r. 19) : οὐ βέλεται P
cap. 5, p. 83, l. 13	ἀντεπεξιών] DPC : ἀντεξιών H (f. 663v, r. 4)
cap. 5, p. 83, l. 16	εἰ καὶ μάλιστα] εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα codd. (H, f. 663v, r. 6)
cap. 5, p. 83, l. 18	εἰ] P : ἢ DCH (f. 663v, r. 9)
cap. 5, p. 83, l. 21	τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ ὄνομα] DCP : τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ὀνόματος H (f. 663v, r. 12)

cap. 5, p. 83, l. 35	τῆς οὐσίας λόγος] DCH (f. 664r, r. 8) : τῆς οὐσίας ὁ λόγος P (ὁ ss.)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 4	οὐ κατέλαβον] D(p. corr.)PH (f. 664r, r. 16) : κατέλαβων D(a. corr.)C
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 8	τῷ […] λόγῳ] DPH (f. 664v, r. 1) : τό C
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 8	συγχρωτίζονται] CD(p. corr.)H (f. 664v, rr. 1 – 2) : συγχρωματίζονται P(e corr., –μα– ss.)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 11	διάγουσιν] D(p. corr. a. m. [?])PCH (f. 664v, r. 5) : διάγωσιν D(a. corr.)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 13	κυριεύει] DCH (f. 664v, r. 6) : κυρίευον P
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 14	δεσπόζον] P(p. corr.)C : δεσπόζων DH (f. 664v, r. 8)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 14	ἀγάπῃ] P(p. corr.)C : ἀγάπης DP(a. corr.)H (f. 664v, r. 8)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 14	στερρότητος] DCH (f. 664v, rr. 8 – 9) : στερρότητι P(e corr.)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 15	εἰ καί τις] ἤ καί τις codd. (H, f. 664v, r. 9)
cap. 5, p. 85, ll. 18 – 19	τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς] D(p. corr. a. m. [?])PH (f. 664v, r. 13) : τοὺς ὁμογενης D(a. corr.)C
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 24	δουλούμενος] δουλόμενος H (f. 664v, rr. 18 – 19)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 27	τῶν γενητῶν] τῶν γεννητῶν H (f. 665r, r. 4)
cap. 5, p. 85, l. 30	τούτους] P(e corr.) : τούτοις DCH (f. 665r, r. 7)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 4	αὐτὸς γὰρ ὢν τὴν οὐσίαν] ὢν om. H (f. 665r, r. 17)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 5	λαμπρός] D(p. corr.)PH (f. 665r, r. 17) : λαμπρῶς D(a. corr.)C
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 5	λαμπρὰ καλεῖσθαι ποιεῖ τὰ λαμπόμενα] DPC : λαμπρὰ καλεῖσθαι λαμπόμενα ποιεῖ H (f. 665r, rr. 17 – 18)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 12	ὄφελος] D(p. corr.)PH (f. 665v, r. 6) : ὤφελος D(a. corr.)C
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 12	ἕνεκεν τὸ πῦρ] DPH (f. 665v, r. 7) : τῷ C
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 13	παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ] DPH (f. 665v, r. 8) : καὶ om. C
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 15	ἡ ὕλη] DPH (f. 665v, r. 10) : ἡ ἥλυ C
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 17	ὑπαναχωρεῖ] C : ὑποχωρεῖ DPH (f. 665v, rr. 11 – 12)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 17	ἐν θερμοῖς] DCH (f. 665v, r. 12) : ἐνθέρμως P(e corr.)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 18	μὴ δὲ σέλας] μηδὲ σέλας H (f. 665v, r. 13)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 20	παρὰ δὲ ἀγγέλου] παρὰ δὲ ἀγγέλων H (f. 665v, r. 16)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 23	κτησάμενος] κτισάμενος DH (f. 665v, r. 18)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 23	γυμνητεύει] P : γυμνιτεύει DCH (f. 665v, r. 19)
cap. 5, p. 87, l. 27	διδοὺς μαθηταῖς] DPH (f. 666r, r. 4) : μαθηταῖς διδούς C
cap. 5, p. 87, ll. 29 – 30	τῷ Χριστῷ μένουσα ὅλως] μένουσα om. H (f. 666r, r. 4)
cap. 5, p. 89, l. 2	κατασκευάζων τὰ] κατασκευάζοντα DH (f. 666r, rr. 11 – 12)
cap. 5, p. 89, l. 12	ἐμφανῆ καθίσταται] ἐμφανῆ καθίστανται H (f. 666v, r. 5)
cap. 5, p. 89, l. 13	ἀποδέδεικται] DPH (f. 666v, r. 6) : ἀποδέδειται C

cap. 5, p. 89, l. 13	ἡνίκα] DPH (f. 666v, r. 6) : ἠνίκα C$^{\text{(e corr. ss)}}$
cap. 5, p. 89, l. 14	δεισιδαμονίαν] δισιδαιμονίαν H (f. 666v, r. 8)
cap. 5, p. 89, l. 15	εἰκόσιν] DPH (f. 666v, r. 9) : εἴκοσιν C
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 17	τὰ γοῦν] τὰ γὰρν D$^{\text{(corr. ex τὰ γοῦν)}}$ τὰ γὰρ H (f. 666v, r. 9)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 17	δηλώσειαν] δηλώσειεν codd. (H, f. 666v, r. 10)
cap. 6, p. 89, ll. 17 – 18	περὶ τῶν ἱερωτυπιῶν φρόνημα ἔσχεν] D : φρόνημα περὶ τῶν ἱερωτυπιῶν φρόνημα ἔσχεν H (f. 666v, r. 11)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 18	παραθήσομαι] παρθησόμεθα codd.(H, f. 666v, r. 12)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 20	προτάττειν] CD$^{\text{(p. corr.)}}$P$^{\text{(p. corr.)}}$: προστάττειν D$^{\text{(a. corr.; σ sub ras.)}}$ P$^{\text{(a. corr.)}}$H (f. 666v, r. 14)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 23	οὐ πολὺ τὸ διάφορον] C : ὃ πολὺ τὸ διάφορον DPH (f. 666v, r. 18)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 25	πλανᾶσθε] DPH (f. 667r, r. 1) : πλανᾶσθαι C
cap. 6, p. 89, ll. 25 – 26	μὴ εἰδότες τὰς] DPH (f. 667r, r. 2) : μηειδοτετὰς C
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 27	οὔτε γαμοῦσιν] DPH (f. 667r, r. 3) : ἐγγαμούσιν C
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 29	οἱ τὸ πρέπον] H (corr. ex οἳ τὸ πρέπον, f. 667r, r. 5)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 31	οὐδ' εἴ τι] DPH (f. 667r, r. 8) : οὐδέτι C
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 32	ἀκρωτηριασθείη] ἀκροτηριασθείη D$^{\text{(a. corr.)}}$H (f. 667r, r. 8)
cap. 6, p. 89, l. 32	τῆς τοῦ θείου δυνάμεως] τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως codd. (H, f. 667r, r. 8)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 1	ἱδρύνθησαν] DPH (f. 667r, r. 10) : ἱδρύθησαν C
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 2	εἰ] DCP$^{\text{(a. corr.)}}$H (f. 667r, r. 12) : ἢ P$^{\text{(p. corr.)}}$
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 4	αἰτοῦντας] C : αἰτοῦντα DPH (f. 667r, r. 13)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 7	ἐγκεκλεῖσθαι] ἐγκαλεῖσθαι H (f. 667r, r. 17)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 10	φέρει<ν>] φέρει codd. (H, f. 667r, r. 19)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 13	ἐπεὶ] D$^{\text{(p. corr.)}}$PCH (f. 667v, r. 3) : ἐπὶ D$^{\text{(a. corr.)}}$
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 18	οἴκους] DPH (f. 667v, r. 10) : εἴκους C
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 20	ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις] D$^{\text{(p. corr. ex ταῖς οἰκείαις)}}$PCH (p. corr. ex ταῖς οἰκείαις; f. 667v, r. 11)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 22	ἐπέμεινεν] ἐπέμενε codd. (H, f. 667v, r. 13)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 22	τῇ οἰκείᾳ] H corr. ex τῇ οἰκίᾳ (f. 667v, r. 13)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 28	μετέχοντας] H corr. ex μετέχοντος (f. 668r, r. 1)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 28	μετειληχότας] H corr. ex μετηληχότας (f. 668r, r. 2)
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 31	τὸ πρέπον σέβας] DPH (f. 668r, rr. 5 – 6) : σέβας om. C
cap. 6, p. 91, l. 32	βρέτας] D$^{\text{(p. corr.)}}$H (f. 668r, r. 7) : βρέττας D$^{\text{(a. corr.)}}$
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 10	οὕτως] οὕτω H (f. 668r, r. 19)
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 13	γαμίζονται] H corr. ex γαμίζουσιν (f. 668v, r. 3)
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 21	μηκέτι μὴ δὲ γένεσιν] μηκἔτι καὶ γένεσιν H (f. 668v, r. 12)

cap. 7, p. 93, l. 22	δεσμῶν] H (f. 669v, r. 13) δεσμῶν D(p corr., σ add. in marg. e δομῶν)
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 23	τῶν εὐφρονούντων] DPH (f. 668v, r. 14) : εὐφραινούντων C
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 25	ἀξίαν] DPH (f. 668v, r. 16) : ἀξία C
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 30	ἐξευρηθῆναι] corr. H ex ἐξευρηθήσεται (f. 669r, rr. 2 – 3)
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 32	ὄντως] ὄντος DH (f. 669r, r. 6)
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 35	τανῦν] P : τὰ νῦν DCH (f. 669r, r. 10)
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 38	δεινός] DPH (f. 669r, r. 13) : δεινῶς C
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 38	χαλεπός] DPH (f. 669r, r. 13) : χαλεπῶς C
cap. 7, p. 93, l. 39	οὗτος] οὕτως codd. (H, f. 669r, r. 13)
cap. 7, p. 95, l. 2	προεναστράψαν] DCH (f. 669r, r. 16) : προανάστραψαν P
cap. 7, p. 95, l. 3	κατ’ ὄρθρον] D(p. corr. a. m.) : κατόρθρον D(a. corr.)H (f. 669r, r. 18)
cap. 7, p. 95, l. 6	ἐπιχειρημάτων] corr. H. ex ἐπιχηρημάτων (f. 669v, r. 3)
cap. 7, p. 95, l. 9	ἀντικαθέστηκεν] DPH (f. 669v, r. 7) : ἀντικαθέστικεν C
cap. 7, p. 95, l. 11	πρώτης] DCH (f. 669v, r. 9) : πρὸ τῆς P
cap. 8, p. 95, l. 15	ἔνθα ἡ περικοπή] ἡ om. DH (f. 669v, r. 15)
cap. 8, p. 95, ll. 16 – 17	πρὸς τὸ τὸν εἱρμὸν μὴ διακοπῆναι] τὸ om. DH (f. 669v, r. 17)
cap. 8, p. 95, ll. 17 – 18	τῶν εὐφρονούντων] DPH (f. 669v, rr. 18 – 19) : εὐφραινούντων C
cap. 8, p. 95, l. 31	ὅτῳ] DPH (f. 670r, r. 16) : ὁ τῶ C
cap. 8, p. 95, l. 38	καταπειθεῖς] DPH (f. 670v, r. 5) : ἐπικαταπειθεις C
cap. 8, p. 97, l. 3	ἱεραῖς διδασκαλίαις] DPH (f. 670v, r. 10) : ἱεραὶ διδασκαλίαι C
cap. 8, p. 97, l. 4	ἐξυβρίσαιέν τε] DPH (f. 670v, r. 11) : ἐξυβρίσαι ἔν τε C
cap. 9, p. 97, l. 6	διὸ τέως] δι’ ὃ τέως D(a. corr.)H (f. 670v, r. 13)
cap. 9, p. 97, l. 26	τοῦτου γε ἕνεκεν] τοῦτου γε εἵνεκεν DP[C]H (f. 671r, r. 19)
cap. 9, p. 97, l. 29	ἀποπλανώμενοι] D(p. corr. a. m.)P : ἀποπλανόμενοι D(a. corr.) CH (f. 671v, r. 4)
cap. 9, p. 97, l. 34	ἐνομιλῶν] συνομιλῶν H (f. 671v, r. 10)
cap. 9, p. 97, l. 36	σιδήρῳ] DPH (f. 671v, r. 13) : σηδήρω C(a. corr.)
cap. 9, p. 99, l. 1	τὰ μὲν οὖν] DPH (f. 671v, r. 15) : οὖν om. C
cap. 9, p. 99, l. 10	καὶ αὐτοῖς] DPH (f. 672r, rr. 8 – 9) : αὐτοί C
cap. 9, p. 99, l. 12	καταμικρόν] DCH (f. 672r, r. 11) : κἂν μικρόν P(p. corr.)
cap. 9, p. 99, l. 13	προσάγων] προσαγαγών DH (f. 672r, r. 13)
cap. 9, p. 99, l. 17	προσάγει] προσάγειν DH (f. 672r, r. 18)

cap. 9, p. 99, l. 19	ἄπαγε] DPH (f. 672v, r. 1) : ἄπεγε C[a. corr.]
cap. 9, p. 101, l. 1	ὕβρις] ὕβρίσας DH (f. 673r, r. 4)
cap. 9, p. 101, l. 9	τὰ ὀρθῶς τε] DPH (f. 673r, r. 15) : τε om. C
cap. 9, p. 101, l. 10	τοιοῦτον γάρ τι ἐστίν] τοιοῦτον γάρ τοι ἐστίν H (f. 673r, rr. 15 – 16)
cap. 9, p. 101, l. 10	ἀνόπιν] DPH (f. 673r, r. 16) : ἀνόπην C
cap. 9, p. 101, l. 12	περὶ οὗ καί] DPH (f. 673r, r. 19) : καί om. C
cap. 9, p. 101, l. 19	συγγραφεὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐπίσταται] οὐδαμῶς om. DH (f. 673rv, r. 9)
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 1	ἐλλιπῶς] D[p. corr.]P : ἐλλειπῶς CD[a. corr.]H (f. 674r, r. 15)
cap. 10, p. 103, ll. 8 – 9	νομίζων] DPH (f. 674v, r. 6) : ὁ μείζων C[a. corr.]
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 10	οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἶκός] ἦν om. H (f. 674v, r. 6)
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 15	ἐκείνων τυπώσας] ἐκείνων τυπώσας τῷ σχήματι codd. (H, f. 674v, r. 12)
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 16	εὐαρεστεῖν] DPH (f. 674v, r. 14) : εὐαρεστιν C
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 24	ἐκφανέστατα] C : ἐμφανέστατα DPH (f. 675r, r. 7)
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 25	κατὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἰδώλων] DPH (f. 675r, r. 7) : κατὰ εἰδώλων καὶ Ἑλλήνων C
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 28	ἐπαστράψει] DCH (f. 675r, r. 11) : ἀπαστράψει P
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 31	γυναῖκα ποιεῖ] DPH (f. 675r, r. 14) : γυναικοποιεῖ C
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 32	σεμνύνετε] D[p. corr.]H (p.corr.; f. 675r, r. 15) : σεμνύνεται D[a. corr.]H[a. corr.]
cap. 10, p. 103, l. 36	ἐπιβλήμασιν] DPH (f. 675r, r. 19) : ἐπειβλήμασιν C
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 2	κἂν θέουσιν] D[a. corr.]P[a. corr.]C[p. corr.] : κἂν θέωσιν D[p. corr. e. m.]P[p. corr.]H (f. 675v, r. 4) : καθέουσιν C[a. corr. ss.]
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 3	τρέχουσιν] CD[a. corr.]P[a. corr.] : τρέχωσιν D[p. corr. a m.]P[p. corr.]H (f. 675v, r. 4)
cap. 10, p. 105, ll. 6 – 7	ἀγάλματα φωνεῖ] ἀγαλμαφωνα C[a. corr.] : ἀγάλματα φωνεῖ H (a. corr.; f. 675v, r. 8) : ἀγάλματα φωνῇ DPH[p. corr.]
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 7	καὶ δοκῇ διαλέγεσθαι] H corr. e καὶ δοκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι (f. 675v, rr. 8 – 9)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 7	μὴ δὲ τούτοις] D[acc. add. a. m.]PC : μηδὲ τούτοις H (f. 675v, r. 10)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 8	προπίωμεν] D[a. corr.] : προσίωμεν D[p. corr. e. m.]H (f. 675v, r. 10)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 8	μὴ δ' ἄν] DPH (f. 675v, r. 11) : μὴ δὲ ἄν C
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 9	μὴ δὲ περὶ τούτων] δέ om. DPH (f. 675v, r. 11)

cap. 10, p. 105, l. 17	τῶν λιθίνων ξοάνων τὴν ψυχὴν δυσωπούμενοι] τῶν λιθίνων ξοάνων δυσωπούμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν H (f. 675v, rr. 18 – 19)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 20	Μωϋσῆς] D : μωσῆς H (f. 676r, r. 4)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 23	ἐνεός] D[(p. corr., ε add. in marg.)] : νεώς D[(a. corr.)] : ἐννεώς H (f. 676r, r. 7)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 26	προπηλακισθήσονται] προσπηλακισθήσονται H (f. 676r, r. 10)
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 28	κύνες] DPH (f. 676r, r. 13) : κοίνες C
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 29	ὀνομασίᾳ τιμώμενοι] CD[(a. corr.)] : ὀνόμασιν ἀτιμώμενοι D[(p. corr., ν et spiritus add. s.l. a. m.)]H (f. 676r, r. 13) : ὀνόμασι τιμώμενοι P[(p. corr.)]
cap. 10, p. 105, l. 29	ἐξ εὐχερείας] ἐξ εὐχερίας H (f. 676r, r. 14)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 1	νομίσῃς] DPH (f. 676r, r. 19) : νομίσεις C
cap. 10, p. 107, ll. 3 – 4	ἑαυτοὺς ἱκανῶς ἐζημίωσαν] ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανῶς ἐζημίωσαν H (f. 676v, rr. 3 – 4)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 6	ἀποχρώντως] DPH (f. 676v, rr. 5 – 6) : ἀποχρώντος C
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 6	περὶ τῆς τερθρείας] D[(p. corr. e. m.)]PH (f. 676v, r. 6) : τερθρίας C
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 11	τὸν προκείμενον ἅπαντα λόγον] τὸν προκείμενον λόγον ἅπαντα H (f. 676v, rr. 11 – 12)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 11	οὐ μὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων] C : οὐ μὴν περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων DPH (f. 676v, r. 12)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 14	ἐλεγχθείη DPH (f. 676v, rr. 15 – 16)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 23	ἀπατεῶνες] D[(p. corr. a. m.)]H (f. 677r, rr. 9 – 10) : ἀπαταιῶνες D[(a. corr.)]CP
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 26	ἕκτον] DPH(f. 677r, r. 13) : ἐκτόν C
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 27	καὶ περὶ τῶν παρὰ Χριστοῦ] H corr. e καὶ παρὰ τῶν περὶ Χριστοῦ (f. 677r, rr. 13 – 14)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 28	ἐδεσσηνῶν] PC : ἐδεσηνῶν D : αἰδεσηνῶν H (f. 677r, rr. 16 – 17)
cap. 10, p. 107, l. 31	πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ὠφελῆσαι] πρὸς τῶ μηδὲν ὠφελῆσαι D[(acc. add. ab a. m.)] πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ὠφελῆσαι H (f. 677v, r. 1)
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 1	ποιήσας] DP[(a. corr.)]H (f. 677v, r. 4) : ἐποίησε P[(p. corr.)]
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 6	τῶν περὶ τὸν] DPH (f. 677v, r. 10) : τὸν περὶ τὸν C
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 11	καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς αὐτοῦ] καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ H (f. 677v, r. 16)
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 14	ἔθει] DPH (f. 678r, rr. 1 – 2) : ἔθη C
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 16	καὶ περιέχεσθαι] καὶ om. H (f. 678r, r. 3)

cap. 10, p. 109, l. 16	μόνον τὰ τῶν ἀθέων] τὰ om. DH (f. 678r, r. 4)
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 17	Ὠριγένους] D(p. corr. a. m.)PH (f. 678r, r. 5) : ὡρειγένους C
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 19	ἐπιχειρήσουσιν] D(a. corr.) : ἐπιχειρήσωσιν D(p. corr.)PH (f. 678r, rr. 7 – 8)
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 21	καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ om. H (f. 678r, r. 10)
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 23	ἐῶμεν] D(a. corr.)PH (f. 678r, r. 13) : ἐῶ μὲν D(p. corr.)[C]
cap. 10, p. 109, l. 23	τανῦν] C : τὰ νῦν DPH (f. 678r, r. 13)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 2	παλινοστήσωμεν] D(a. corr.)H(a. corr.) (f. 678r, r. 16) : παλινοστήσομεν D(p. corr.)H(p. corr.)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 3	τὸ κερδαλέον] DP : τὸ κερδαλαίον CH (f. 678r, r. 17)
cap. 10, p. 111, ll. 6 – 7	τῷ σκότῳ] τῷ σκότει H (f. 678v, r. 3)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 8	συνιστᾶν] DPH (f. 678v, r. 5) : συνειστᾶν C
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 8	τὸ ἐναντίον αἰσχρῶς] PC : τὸ ἐναντίον αἶσχος D(p. corr.)H (f. 678v, rr. 5 – 6) : αἶσχως D(a. corr.)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 9	διὸ] PC : δι ὃ D(p. corr.)H (f. 678v, r. 6) : δι’ ἃ D(a. corr.; acc. add. a. m. [?])
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 10	ἐμπαθέσιν] DPH (f. 678v, r. 8) : ἐν πάθεσι C
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 15	ἠρνημένοι] D(p. corr. a. m.)PH (f. 678v, r. 13) : ἠρημένοι D(a. corr.)C(a. corr.)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 15	τὸ μέγα μυστήριον] DPH (f. 678v, rr. 13 – 14) : μυστηρίω C(a. corr.)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 17	ἀπέφηναν] H corr. ex ὑπέφηναν (f. 678v, r. 16)
cap. 10, p. 111, l. 25	ἐντεῦθεν] DCH (f. 679r, r. 9) : ἔνθεν P

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À la recherche de l'auteur de sept lettres inconnues: la collection épistolographique du codex Vat. gr. 1020

Abstract: F. 1v–9v of the codex Vat. gr. 1020, which is dated to the first half of the 14th century, contains seven unknown and anonymous letters, the last one mutilated. In this study, at first, the ascription of the letters to Maximus Neamonites as proposed by the database of the PINAKES is rejected, and a number of assumptions are made concerning the name of their writer in the light of the little prosopographical information offered. The content is studied, as well as the style of the letters and their place in the literary context of the Palaiologan Rennaisance of the 13th–14th centuries. A critical edition of the letters completes the article.

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Dans les ff. 1^{v}–9^{v} du codex Vat. gr. 1020, datant de la première moitié du XIVe siècle à en juger par ses caractéristiques paléographiques, sept lettres inconnues et anonymes (la dernière étant tronquée) sont transmises sans titre.[1] La base de données des manuscrits grecs «Pinakes» sur le contenu du codex ne fournit aucune indication sur ces lettres,[2] qui, on ne sait pour quelle raison, sont néanmoins attribuées à Maxime Néamonitès, auteur et enseignant célèbre de la

1 Il s'agit d'un non catalogué codex en papier qui dans ses 220 folios contient un poème de 32 hexamètres qui constitue un «centon» des hymnes de Proclus, le poème de 12 vers de Michel Psellos εἰς τὸ 'ζύμη ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἔκρυψεν εἰς ἀλεύρου σάτα τρία', l'œuvre de Porphyre Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας (ἢ Περὶ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν: γένος, εἶδος, διαφορά, ἴδιον, συμβεβηκὸς), le Commentaire d'Ammonios sur la même œuvre aristotélicienne et un texte intitulé Σκευασία ἐμπλάστρου συντεθεῖσα παρὰ Μιχαὴλ Ἀκτουαρίου τοῦ Παντέχνου, voir I. Taxidis, Le poème inconnu du codex Vat. gr. 1020: le cas d'un «centon» des hymnes de Proclus. *RÉB* 75 (2017) 177–178 (et note 1), où la bibliographie antérieure sur le codex.

2 Voir http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67651. Les *initia* des lettres ne se retrouvent pas dans M. Grünbart, Epistularum Byzantinarum Initia. *Alpha-Omega: Reihe A, Lexika, Indizes, Konkordanzen zur Klassischen Philologie*, 224. Hildesheim/Zurich/New York 2001.

première moitié du XIVe siècle.[3] Toutefois, aucune des quatorze lettres connues de Néamonitès, transmises dans le codex Vat. Chis. R.IV.12, n'est identifiée à une des sept lettres du manuscrit Vat. gr. 1020; par ailleurs, elles ne semblent avoir aucun lien du point de vue du style ou du contenu.[4] En outre, les maigres éléments biographiques qu'offre le texte du manuscrit vatican ne peuvent en aucun cas être associés – et encore moins identifiés – à la biographie bien connue de Néamonitès.

Ces sept lettres, que quelques informations prosopographiques supplémentaires invitent à dater, sous toutes réserve, de la fin du XIIIe ou du début du XIVe siècle,[5] proviennent clairement de la plume du même auteur qui, à un moment précis et songeant probablement à une publication future, établit dans des conditions précises ce petit recueil épistolaire;[6] ce qui est confirmé par les caractéristiques stylistiques communes des lettres, par un certains nombre de ressemblances thématiques, mais aussi par le milieu intellectuel auquel elles font référence et l'esprit littéraire qui s'en dégage.

Leur auteur, en tout cas, semble être un parvenu d'origine modeste,[7] qui probablement en raison de son éducation s'est mis au service de l'empereur, afin d'avoir directement accès à la cour impériale.[8] Tantôt en participant à des mis-

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3 Sur Maxime Néamonitès, voir PLP 92630.

4 Voir aussi M. Mitrea, A late Byzantine πεπαιδευμένος: Maximos Neamonites and his letter collection. *JÖB* 64 (2014) 198, note 8.

5 Voir *infra*, p. 173, sur les personnages mentionnés dans les lettres, Παξῆς et Τζύρος.

6 Sur la volonté de passer à la postérité qui imprégnait l'œuvre des épistolographes byzantins, voir. I. Sykoutres, Προβλήματα της Βυζαντινής Επιστολογραφίας, dans: Ιωάννης Συκουτρής. Μελέτες και άρθρα: Τα γερμανόγλωσσα δημοσιεύματα. Τόμος Β΄: Επιστολή Σπευσίππου και άλλες μελέτες. Βιβλιοκρισίες, éd. D.I. Iakob, trad. I. Tsiringakes. Athènes 2003, 247, qui souligne: ό,τι μας έχει σωθεί από τη βυζαντινή επιστολογραφική παραγωγή ανήκει αποκλειστικά στις *λογοτεχνικές* επιστολές, οι οποίες γράφτηκαν εξαρχής με την προοπτική της δημοσίευσης ή υπέστησαν εκ των υστέρων επεξεργασία. Την εποχή εκείνη έγραφαν επιστολές sub specie aeternitatis [με την προοπτική της αθανασίας]· αυτό ισχύει τουλάχιστον για όσες διατηρούσαν και δημοσίευαν. Ο συντάκτης των επιστολών αυτών εμφανιζόταν μπροστά στο ευρύ κοινό του παρόντος και του μέλλοντος, όχι μόνο μπροστά στον παραλήπτη του. Μπορούμε να τον κατηγορήσουμε για το γεγονός ότι επεδίωκε μια ευπρεπή και αξιοπρεπή εμφάνιση;.

7 Voir Lettre 7.56–59 (Τὸ δὲ τῆς πάλαι μεμνῆσθαι τύχης ἐν ὑψηλοτέρᾳ μοίρᾳ καὶ βαθμῷ μείζονι, οὐχ' ὅπως οὐκ ἄρα αἰσχύνην οὐ φέρει τῷ γε νοῦν ἔχοντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς δόξαν ἐστίν, εἴ γε μὴ ὡς ἄλλον δή τινα κλῆρον μεταλαγχάνων) et 62–64 (ὅτε τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦν καὶ γωνίας ἀπελαύομεν καὶ σχολῆς, πλὴν ἢ θελόντων παρούσης ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὅσα γε ἐς πορισμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων).

8 Voir L. 6.1 (Τῆς ἐν βασιλείοις ἡμερῶν ἤδη διατριβῆς μοι σχολάσαντι).

sions diplomatiques, tantôt en composant parfois des oraisons,[9] il a réussi à connaître une prospérité relative et à vivre dans l'aisance (ainsi, il possède des bêtes et une fortune immobilière),[10] ce qui suscita probablement l'envie et la jalousie d'anciens amis.[11]

Cependant, si le ἐκ Σκυθῶν Παξῆς, mentionné dans la deuxième lettre et appelé Χοῦμνος par les Byzantins (Χοῦμνος δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν), s'identifie à l'homme d'origine mongole, gouverneur de Nicomédie en 1302, Koutzimpaxès ou Paxès, en fonction dans la première décennie du XIVe siècle,[12] l'empereur mentionné dans les lettres est indubitablement Andronic II Paléologue, qui avait du reste l'habitude d'engager à son service des hommes instruits comme notre épistolographe.[13] En outre, le fait que ce Paxès semble être un homme de confiance d'Andronic II, même si, après 1305 il tomba en disgrâce, fut emprisonné et finit par s'évader vers 1306 sans laisser de traces,[14] est corroboré à la fois par l'allusion de l'auteur à son arrivée à Nicomédie, région où sévit Paxès, lors d'une mission diplomatique, qu'il aurait lui-même accomplie,[15] ainsi que par la mention d'une autre personne, du nom de Tzyros, dans la quatrième lettre, quel que soit le personnage déjà connu sous ce nom dans les sources auquel il s'identifie, se situe chronologiquement de nouveau au début du XIVe siècle.[16]

9 Voir L. 1, L.5.6 – 7 (Ἐλελήθεις με καὶ λογογράφος [ὤ]ν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλει, τοῖς γὰρ λόγοις οὔ, μὰ τοὺς λόγους, δοκεῖ), L. 5.22 – 24 (Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ταύταις δὴ διοικήσεσι συνεργὸς ἡμῖν καὶ ἀκόλουθος ὡς μὴ ὤφελες συνεξώρμησας, οἶσθα οἶμαι) et L. 7.90 – 95 (Ἀλλ' ἐκ λόγων εἰς λόγους καὶ οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε φασὶ μεταπεσεῖν ἡμῖν δόξαι, λειτουργίαν μὲν δή τινα προστάττει ταύτην ἡμῖν συγγενῆ καὶ οἰκείαν, ἐξ ἧς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἦν πειρᾶσθαι ὡστοεικὸς καὶ τῆς τοῦ λέγειν τὲ καὶ γράφειν ἕξεως καὶ δυνάμεως, οὐχ' ὅπως ἀπολαύειν ἐς κόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεπιδιδόναι μᾶλλον καὶ προσεπαύξειν καὶ τῶν ὁμιλιῶν αὐτοῦ συνάμα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ σχεδὸν αὐτοῦ σοφοῖς λειτουργοῖς ἀξιοῖ).

10 Voir L. 6.22 – 25 (Ἐξῄειν εὐθὺς τῶν ἀρχείων, οὐχ' ἵππου μὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιβὰς ἡμετέρου, ἀλλ' ἀλλοτρίῳ χρησάμενος. Καὶ πάντας ἵππους, ἡμιόνους, ἐξελάσας τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ τοὐπίταγμα, πρὸς τὸν μέγαν τῆς σφενδόνης ἐξέπεμψα. Τῆς δὲ ὑστεραίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' ἀγροῦ συνεξέπεμψα).

11 Voir par. ex. L. 3.40 – 42 (Πρὸς δὲ τούτων, φιλίαν πρεσβεύοιμι καὶ τὰ δήγματα τῶν πάλαι φίλων, φιλήματα πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας ὀρῴμην οἰόμενος). Sur le «φθόνος» dans la littérature byzantine, voir analytiquement M. Hinterberger, Phthonos. Missgunst, Neid und Eifersucht in der byzantinischen Literatur. *Serta Graeca*, 29. Wiesbaden 2013.

12 Sur Koutzimpaxès, voir PLP 13622. Voir aussi L. 2.1.

13 Sur Andronic II Paléologue, voir PLP 21436.

14 Voir aussi les informations relatives dans une lettre du patriarche de Constantinople, Athanase I, à l'empereur Andronic II, The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople. Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials, an Edition, Translation, and Commentary by A.-M. Maffry Talbot. *CFHB*, 7. Washington, D.C. 1975, 114 – 116 (Lettre 51) et 361 – 362.

15 Voir L. 1.1 (Τὴν Νικομήδους ἡμᾶς ἴσθι κατειληφότας).

16 Voir PLP 28170 et 28171.

Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est le contenu de la deuxième lettre, mentionnant les tentatives de Paxès pour trouver un mari à sa fille ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς, qui nous permet avec plus de certitude d'identifier cette personne au gouverneur connu de Nicomédie.[17] D'après le récit de Pachymérès dans son œuvre historique, quand Paxès se mit au service impérial vers 1302, Andronic II arrangea le mariage de sa fille avec Solymampax, «chef de bande turc sévissant près de Nicomédie», pour des raisons diplomatiques et principalement afin de purger la région des raids ennemis incessants.[18]

Par conséquent, le παρακοιμώμενος τῆς σφενδόνης, mentionné dans la sixième lettre du recueil épistolaire, peut également être identifié plutôt à Constantin Doukas Nestoggos, détenteur de ce titre jusqu'en 1307, qu'au fils de Nicéphore Choumnos, Jean – pour peu, bien sûr, que la rédaction des lettres ait été nettement postérieure aux événements mentionnés.[19] En tout état de cause, il semble que le manuscrit, si on le date plus précisément du milieu de la première moitié du XIVe siècle (ce qui paraît d'ailleurs le plus vraisemblable), soit chronologiquement proche de la composition des lettres, ce qui, à certaines conditions, permettrait de supposer que le scribe de ces premiers folios du codex est également l'auteur des lettres qu'il voulut inclure dans un manuscrit, tombé peut-être par hasard entre ses mains, en vue d'un rapide archivage.[20]

Quoi qu'il en soit, le caractère des lettres suggère qu'elles pourraient très bien être un pur produit de cette époque-là, car, du point de vue stylistique et thématique, elles assimilent plusieurs éléments caractéristiques de l'épistolographie byzantine à l'ère des Paléologues. Les allusions à des missions diplomatiques, à l'empereur et à la cour impériale, à des amis ou ennemis, ainsi que les jeux de mots, les plaisanteries, le style abscons ou l'utilisation fréquente et ostentatoire de citations pour faire montre d' aptitudes rhétoriques, viennent le

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17 Voir L. 2.1 – 2 (Τούτῳ δὴ ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀλλοφύλων ζητοῦντι συγγένειαν, οὐ προῖκας διδόναι ὑπὲρ παιδός).

18 Voir Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques, édition, introduction et notes par A. FAILLER. Traduction française par V. LAURENT, I-II. *CFHB*, 24. Paris 1984; Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques, III-IV, éd. A. FAILLER. *CFHB*, 24. Paris 1999, IV, 379.10 – 16 (σῴζεταί τε καὶ τὰ χριστιανῶν αἱρεῖται καὶ πανοικὶ βαπτίζεται, κἀντεῦθεν ᾠκείωτο βασιλεῖ, τότε τοίνυν βασιλεύς, κρυπτόν τι καὶ συνετὸν πειρώμενος ἐννοεῖν, κηδεύειν τοῦτον ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τὸν Σολυμάμπαξιν ἐγχωρεῖ, ὃς δὴ καὶ τῶν πλησίον ἐχθρῶν ἡγεμόνευε καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τὸ κῆδος προβῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν καθιστᾷ, ἐφ' ᾧπερ ἐξ ἀγάπης καὶ συγγενείας ὄνησίς τις τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι γίνοιτο) et 378, note 91.

19 Voir PLP 20201 et 30954 respectivement.

20 On ne reconnaît pas ailleurs dans le manuscrit la main des neuf premiers folios du codex et le fait que la dernière lettre est tronquée semble indiquer que ces folios y ont très vraisemblablement été, en quelque sorte, insérés.

confirmer. Seules l'absence de titres aux lettres ainsi que de toute forme d'appellatifs dans le corps du texte posent de sérieux problèmes, puisque l'un et l'autre seraient à même de nous éclairer sur les destinataires des lettres, les questions de prosopographie et de chronologie qui se posent et permettraient de formuler des hypothèses plus fiables sur leur auteur.[21]

Compte tenu des données disponibles, il est donc impossible de formuler des hypothèses fiables sur l'auteur des lettres, puisqu'il pourrait être n'importe quel épistolographe, connu ou d'inconnu, majeur ou mineur, de l'époque des Paléologues et plus précisément du début du XIVe siècle. On pourrait, par exemple, fort bien penser à l'auteur également inconnu d'un petit recueil épistolaire du codex N° 84 figurant à la Bibliothèque du Parlement des Grecs[22] ou à Grégoire Kardamès, auteur de cinq lettres, conservées avec l'inscription ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ μοναχοῦ Γρηγορίου Καρδάμη, ce qui indique le choix d'un nombre précis de lettres parmi une collection manifestement plus vaste;[23] mais tout aussi bien à quantité d'autres érudits de la même époque dont on ne sait pas exactement combien de lettres ils ont rédigées et lesquelles. Toutefois, faute d'informations supplémentaires et plus sûres, mais aussi en raison de différences stylistiques ou thématiques, nous serons souvent obligés d'exclure des personnes sans avoir au bout du compte aucune certitude quant à l'auteur.

Par exemple, du fait qu'à la suite de l'incendie de l'Escurial en 1671, seules quatre lettres de Théodore Métochitès sont conservées, le fameux style difficile et sophistiqué connu de ses textes qui cadre avec celui des sept lettres du manuscrit vatican, ainsi que les cas isolés de mots ou de phrases qui se retrouvent seulement dans les textes de l'illustre érudit datant des trois premières décennies du XIVe siècle,[24] m'ont amené à penser qu'il ne serait pas entièrement déplacé ni arbitraire de reconnaître en lui l'auteur probable. Le style personnel et

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21 Sur les appellatifs dans les lettres byzantines, voir analytiquement l'étude de M. Grünbart, Formen der Anrede im byzantinischen Brief vom 6. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert. *WBS*, 25. Vienne 2005.

22 Voir S.K. Chatzidimitriou, Μια συλλογή επιστολών της ύστερης βυζαντινής περιόδου. *Byzantina* 19 (1998) 95 – 155.

23 Voir I. Taxidis, Οι επιστολές του Γρηγορίου Καρδάμη: μια επανέκδοση. *Hellenika* 57 (2007) 261 – 269.

24 Comme par ex. dans le cas du mot τοὐνμέσῳ (L. 7.45) dont on relève trois occurrences (l. 469, 597 et 701) seulement dans *Presbeutikos* [voir L. Mavromatis, Théodore Métochite, Presbeutikos, dans: La fondation de l'empire serbe. Le kralj Milutin. *Byzantina Keimena kai Meletai*, 16. Thessalonique 1978, 89 – 119 (nouvelle édition à paraître par I. Polemis)], ou de groupes nominaux caractéristiques, comme θησαυροὺς πολυταλάντους (L. 2.5 – 6) et κομιδῇ τῆς σιωπῆς (L. 7.14), également attestés dans des textes de Métochitès, comme il est d'ailleurs consigné dans l'apparat des sources.

confessionnel-autobiographique d'ailleurs de la lettre septième, ainsi que les informations sur un homme qui a rapidement occupé le devant de la scène dans la cour impériale, pourraient renforcer l'hypothèse ci-dessus.[25] Néanmoins, les arguments en faveur d'un ou de l'autre point de vue sont si faibles qu'il reste totalement hasardeux d'avancer tel ou tel nom.

Pourtant, le style de l'auteur ressemble fort à celui des lettres de Théodore Hyrtakènos.[26] Bien qu'il ne soit pas possible, bien sûr, de les identifier, le fait que tous deux utilisent un vocabulaire ou des formules identiques,[27] ainsi que les similitudes thématiques que l'on relève, comme, par exemple, la mention d'une entremise dans la lettre N° 21 de Théodore, semblable à l'effort de Paxès pour trouver un mari à sa fille,[28] pourraient sans doute attester que la collection épistolaire du codex vatican a été produite dans le même environnement intellectuel.

S'agissant du contenu, dans la première lettre l'auteur informe son destinataire de l'issue d'une mission à Nicomédie, probablement entreprise sur ordre de l'empereur et à laquelle lui-même participait.[29] Ni le but ni l'objet de cette mission ne sont précisés. Toutefois, l'attitude négative de l'épistolographe envers la personne (gouverneur de la région?) qu'ils ont rencontrée et les commentaires moqueurs sur les fluctuations de son comportement,[30] ainsi que l'allusion

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25 Voir aussi *supra* p. 173 (et note 9) et *infra* p. 177. Sur Théodore Métochitès, qui de l'âge de vingt ans occupait des postes importants [par ex. *logothetes ton agelon* ou « logothète des troupeaux » (1290 – 1295/96), *logothetes ton oikeiakon* ou (peut-être) «logothète du trésor privé» de l'empereur (1295/96 – 1305) et *logothetes tou genikou* ou «logothète général» (1305 – 1321)], voir PLP 17982.

26 Voir The Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos. Greetext, translation, and commentary by A. Karpozilos and G. Fatouros. Athènes 2017. Sur Théodore Hyrtakènos, voir PLP 29507, ainsi que sur ses lettres, voir A. Karpozilos, The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 275 – 294 et G. Fatouros, Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 221 – 231.

27 Comme par ex. dans le cas des mots également hapax ἀζυγώτους (voir L. 3.36) et ζύγωτρα [voir Letters of Hyrtakenos (comme à la note 26) 76 (L. 3.17)] ou du groupe nominal «διαβατικώτατος νοῦς», voir L. 7.107 et Letters of Hyrtakenos (comme à la note 26) 226 (L. 61.3).

28 Voir Letters of Hyrtakenos (comme à la note 26) 128 – 130 (L. 21) (la lettre s'adresse à Théodore Métochitès). Sur l'arrangement de la deuxième lettre de la collection épistolographique du codex vatican, voir *supra* p. 174 (et note 17-18) et *infra* p. 177 (et note 31).

29 Voir L. 1.1 (Τὴν Νικομήδους ἡμᾶς ἴσθι κατειληφότας).

30 Voir par ex. L. 1.54 – 57 (Ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ἐξήλθομεν. Καὶ πρώτην ἡμέραν μείναντες καὶ δευτέραν, τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐκλήθημεν, καὶ μεταβολὴ πάντων ἡδίστη σχεδὸν ἔδοξε. Σοβαρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄγρια πάντα ἀπέσβη, ἱλαρότης δ' ἐξήνθησε καὶ χαρμονὴ τῷ προσώπῳ).

également railleuse, dans la deuxième lettre, à la personne de Paxès,[31] gouverneur de Nicomédie, comme nous l'avons vu, entre 1302–1305, pourraient permettre l'identification des deux personnes, et expliqueraient la corrélation thématique et l'ordre chronologique des deux lettres.

La troisième lettre est plus personnelle, puisque l'épistolographe y développe d'une manière très rhétorique son point de vue sur l'amitié et surtout sur les cas des amis qui, au fil des ans et dans certaines circonstances, se sont avérés déloyaux.[32] L'auteur expose le même sujet d'une façon similaire également dans les lettres N° 5, 6 et 7 – la plus longue –, dans laquelle il semble parfois qu'il spécifie davantage les causes de sa mauvaise humeur. Se référant à nouveau à des amis qui ne se sont pas comportés comme ils l'auraient dû, il focalise souvent son intérêt sur la jalousie et l'envie qu'il suscite,[33] peut-être du fait qu'il jouissait de la confiance de l'empereur: il semble, en effet, qu'il ait rapidement gravi les degrés de la hiérarchie et se soit vu confier plusieurs responsabilités importantes à la cour impériale.[34] Il a toutefois été trompé par des amis, il a été injustement accusé, ce qui l'a probablement conduit à tomber partiellement en disgrâce; c'est pourquoi, sur un ton très personnel qui s'apparente à la confession, et en usant de divers procédés rhétoriques (style, citations, etc.), il exprime souvent ses désillusions quant à sa position délicate et déplore la fausseté des relations humaines.[35]

Dans la sixième lettre en particulier, la mauvaise humeur de l'auteur est également due au fait qu'il s'est vu confisquer ses bêtes, probablement dans le cadre d'une mesure générale prise par l'Empire peut-être liée à une forme de

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31 Voir par ex. L. 2.8 – 11 (Τί δὲ γάμων ἔδει τοιούτων; Τί τοὺς μήπω βάσανον ἀκριβῆ δεδωκότας τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν πίστεως, τοιαῦτα προυτρέψαμεν πραγματεύεσθαι; Οὐ γὰρ τῆς κατασχέσεως αὐτὸν ἐλεοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς βουλήσεως ὑποπτεύομεν).
32 Voir par ex. le commencement caractéristique de la lettre, L. 3.1 – 6 (Οὕτως ὠνάμην σου τῆς φιλίας ἐπιεικῶς, οὐχ' ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ ἠπατημένος ᾠόμην, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἀπευξαίμην μὴδὲ ἑτέρῳ ἥκειν εἰς πεῖραν· καίτοι ἔγωγε, ὁ πάντα ῥᾴδιος καὶ αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν οἷς ἀτεχνῶς εἶναί τις ἐκ τῆς σῆς συνηθείας ἠξίουν, ὡς ἄρα δή τινι φίλῳ χρώμενος βελτίστῳ τὲ ἅμα καὶ λυσιτελεστάτῳ συνεῖναι. Ἀλλ' ἐψευδόμην, ἄνθρωπος ὢν καὶ ἀνθρώπινα περὶ ἀνθρώπου φρονῶν).
33 Voir par ex. L. 7.1 – 9 ([Ἐ]γώ δ' ἐξεπίτηδες σιγὴν δοκιμάσας μέχρι καὶ ἐστονῦν, μᾶλλον δὲ λογισμῷ γενναίῳ χρησάμενος καὶ προσστησάμενος καρτερίαν, οὐχ' οἷαν ἐπιεικῶς ἐγγὺς παραβαλεῖν ἐξεῖναι, εὐκαίρως ἤδη λαλῶ καὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δικαίαν καθίσταμαι, ὧν ἀδίκως, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἐγκέκλημαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολογητέον εἶναι καὶ τολμητέον, ἢ ἐφ' οἷς κινδυνεύεί τινι τὸ φαύλῳ εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳ, οὔτε σιγητέον ἂν καὶ οἰστέον ἐς τέλος πολλοῦ ἤδη καὶ πολλάκις κακῶς ἀκούοντα. Τομὲν γὰρ γνώμης ἐστὶν ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ἥκιστα πρέπον ἀνθρώπῳ σώφρονι, τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς ἐπηρείας καὶ ἀκρίτου (πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι) ἐπιπλήξεως, οὐχ' ἡ σιγὴ ἀλλ' ἡ παρρησία σαφὴς ἀποσόβησις).
34 Voir *supra* p. 173 (et note 9) et p. 177 (et note 25).
35 Voir *supra* p. 173 (et note 11).

restructuration économique ou – pourquoi pas? – à une campagne.[36] C'est seulement dans cet esprit que peut s'expliquer l'utilisation de l'expression proverbiale ἵππου πρόκυψις qui n'a pas pu d'ailleurs être trouvée dans le *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* ou dans aucune autre source.[37] Toutefois, étant donné qu'Artémidore, dans son ouvrage sur les rêves, dont l'influence sur la littérature et la mentalité des Byzantins en général fut considérable, considère à l'aide de la méthode de l' ὁμοίου παραθέσεως que le comportement d'un cheval peut prédire l'avenir,[38] on pourrait supposer ici que la phrase ci-dessus est écrite dans un contexte négatif.

D'autre part, la quatrième lettre, la plus courte de toutes, se réduit à un jeu de mots à propos d'une personne, appelée Tzyros.[39] L'auteur, une fois encore d'humeur moqueuse, qualifie cette personne de δραπέτα et παχύτατε, sans qu'on comprenne clairement si le deuxième adjectif est utilisé au sens littéral ou métaphorique, ce qui serait probable s'il s'agissait du riche et célèbre propriétaire de bateaux au début du XIVe siècle; la lettre mentionne d'ailleurs qu'il va devenir «salé», du fait qu'il a essayé d'échapper à la fiscalité.[40] En tout cas, dans un contexte lexical emprunté au monde marin et aux poissons, le très «gros» Tzyros contraste phonétiquement avec le très petit maquereau séché, en même temps que son activité apparemment obscure est habilement comparée par

36 Voir L. 6.5 – 9 [Τὴν πρότριτα τῶν ἵππων εἴτε ζήτησιν βούλει λέγειν εἴτ' ἀφαίρεσιν (οὐ γὰρ οἱ κεκτημένοι σχεδὸν διαφέρονται, ἢ γὰρ ἂν γελοίως ἐστερημένοι πραγμάτων ἀμφισβητήσειαν τοῖς ὀνόμασι), τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καινὸν ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξέφυγεν. Ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀγέρωχοι πρότερον, ταπεινοὶ τὴν γῆν αἴφνης ἐπάτουν καὶ εἰκῇ τοὺς ἀφαιρουμένους ἱκέτευον].

37 Voir L. 6.10 – 11 (ὥστε γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν καὶ ἵππου πρόκυψιν).

38 Voir Artemidori Daldiani Oneirocriticon Libri V, ed. R.A. Pack. Leipzig 1963, 145.11 – 12 (Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ὀνειρο-κρισία ἢ ὁμοίου παράθεσις) et 64.13 – 21 (ἵππος γὰρ γυναικὶ μὲν καὶ ἐρωμένῃ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ κάλλει μέγα φρονεῖ καὶ τὸν ἐλατῆρα βαστάζει. ὅμοιος δέ ἐστι καὶ πλοίῳ· ἁλὸς μὲν γὰρ ἵππους καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τὰς ναῦς λέγει, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν ποσειδῶνα Ἵππιον καλοῦμεν, καὶ ὃν ἔχει λόγον ἐν γῇ ἵππος, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ναῦς. ὅμοιος δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ δεσπότῃ ἐργοδότῃ καὶ φίλῳ τρέφοντι καὶ παντὶ τῷ βαστάζοντι. ὅπως ἂν οὖν ὁ ἵππος τὸν ἰδόντα φέρῃ, οὕτω καὶ γυνὴ καὶ ἐρωμένη καὶ δεσπότης καὶ φίλος καὶ ναῦς τὸν ἰδόντα διαθήσουσι). Voir aussi I. Taxidis, όνειρα, οράματα και προφητικές διηγήσεις στα ιστορικά έργα της ύστερης βυζαντινής εποχής. Athènes 2012, 132 – 133.

39 Voir *supra* p. 173 (et note 16).

40 Voir L. 4.1 – 2 (Θυννῶδες ἀτεχνῶς τὸ ἐνθύμημα· εἰ δὲ βούλει, κτηνῶδες, εἰ μόνος αὐτὸς σὺ τὴν κοινὴν ᾠήθης ταύτην διαδράναι συντέλειαν, Τζύρε παχύτατε) et 6 – 7 (ἢ τὸν δημοκοπούμενον τζύρον αὐτὸς αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα ἀποφανεῖς).

l'auteur aux poissons qui, capturés à l'intérieur de la nasse, s'agitent en tous sens sans toutefois réussir jamais à s'en échapper.[41]

Toutefois, il est clair d'emblée que la difficulté de compréhension du texte des lettres ainsi que de leurs objectifs et intentions littéraires tient surtout au style tellement ardu, étrange et sophistiqué de leur auteur. Les difficultés lexicales et de langue abondent;[42] y domine un discours allusif, composé de nombreuses périodes; la distinction entre la fonction poétique ou littérale de la langue est difficile et la fidélité de l'épistolographe aux règles classiques du dialecte attique ancien vient rendre encore plus obscur le contenu des lettres.

En même temps, il est évident que l'auteur est un homme très éduqué, comme en témoignent la langue utilisée – encore que sa volonté de faire montre de son habileté rhétorique fonctionne souvent au détriment de la limpidité et de la concision du texte –, ou encore la variété de citations intégrées à son œuvre, afin de servir chaque fois les exigences épistolaires et rhétoriques.

Tantôt consciemment, tantôt inconsciemment ou simplement en prenant plus de distances avec sa source, il emprunte essentiellement des passages de la littérature grecque ancienne et les adapte à son texte, essayant de cette façon d'expliquer ses propres écrits et, en mettant en avant son habileté rhétorique ou linguistique, de répondre à son besoin de communiquer. Quoi qu'il en soit, les phrases ou les groupes nominaux que notre auteur emprunte et intègre dans son texte indiquent sa préférence pour les épopées homériques tant quant au niveau de la langue qu'à celui des lieux et personnages mythologiques,[43] ainsi que pour les proverbes largement répandus à l'époque des Paléologues et que l'on rencontre fréquemment dans d'autres lettres de la même période.

En ce qui concerne l'édition ci-dessous et ses principes, on doit d'abord noter que les graphies du codex Vat. gr. 1020 ont été généralement conservées, s'agissant également des graphies qui enfreignent les règles de la grammaire classique, comme dans les cas suivants: βλοσσυρόν (1.48), ἐκτίσαι (4.5), τεμμαχίων (4.8), δεικνῦναι (5.2), ἐξανῦσαι (5.26) et τεμμάχια (7.118). Les graphies du

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41 Voir aussi la note précédente et L. 4.2 – 5 (Ἐντὸς ἀρκύων εἶ, δραπέτα. Κἂν ἄττῃς εἰς ὕψος, κἂν εἰς βάθος δύνῃ, κἂν στρέφῃ, κἂν ἄλλό τι τεχνάζῃ, οὐδέν σοι πλέον εἰς ἀποφυγὴν ἢ ἀπάτην προσέσται. Οὐχ' ἡμεῖς γε οὕτως ἁλιεῖς ἀμαθεῖς).

42 Voir, par exemple, les mots hapax, comme προσεπεφόρει (L. 3.18), ἀζυγώτους (L. 3.36) ou τζύρον (L. 4.7), l'abondance des mots composés et des groupes nominaux difficiles ou étranges, ou simplement la préférence pour des mots précis comme ἐπιεικῶς (L. 1.2; 60, 2.13, 3.1, 5.18 et 7.2; 55).

43 Voir, par exemple, les cas de Thersite (L. 5.11), comme modèle négatif du démagogue hideux et persifleur, et celui de Bellérophon (L. 6.11), héros mythologique connu pour son arrogance.

manuscrit ont été également préférées en cas de réunion de deux ou plusieurs mots, cas très fréquents surtout dans le texte de la septième lettre: καταξίαν (1.13), ἐφῷ (1.20), παρατοσοῦτον (1.36), ἐξεκείνου (1.58), ἄλλάτα (3.19), οὐχήκιστα (5.16, 7.110), ἐνακαρεῖ (6.18), ἐστονῦν (7.1), τομὲν (7.7), βραχέάττα (7.24), ὡσανεί (7.29), τοπρότερον (7.37), τούνμέσῳ (7.45), ἀμωσγέπως (7.47), ἐσαεὶ (7.66), ἐπιπλεῖστον (7.70), διατοῦτ' (7.72), μηδοπωστιοῦν (7.75), ὡστοεικὸς (7.92) et παρόσον (7.96).

D'autre part, comme il s'agit de particularités orthographiques et d'habitudes assez répandues à l'époque des Paléologues, on a aussi opté pour a) la division d'un mot en ses composants lexicaux : μὴδὲ (3.2, 19; 6.14, 29 et 7.79, 106); b) l'écriture de *οὐχ'* avec apostrophe (3.1; 4.4; 5.29; 6.19, 22 et 7.2, 8, 45, 57, 69, 93); c) la graphie τίς (sans point d'interrogation) au lieu de τὶς (1.26 et 3.23) ; d) le maintien de l'accent sur la conjonction *τὲ* devant un mot proparoxyton (1.9, 13, 27, 59; 2.14; 3.4, 10, 14, 29; 5.2, 19, 39 et 7.15, 27, 28, 44, 53, 67, 68, 70, 73, 85, 92, 102, 104, 105) ; ou encore e) la remontée de l'accent de la conjonction *δὲ* (*δ'*) qui n'est toutefois pas un mot enclitique: ταὐτόν δ' (1.39), Ἐπεί δε (1.51), ἐγώ δ' (5.3), ἐμοί δ' (5.5), [Ἐ]γώ δ' (7.1), ὅ δ' (7.11) et οἵ δ' (7.42).[44]

Enfin, s'agissant de la ponctuation, d'après les principes de l'édition moderne des textes, nous avons adopté les règles classiques seulement dans les cas où la ponctuation du codex fonctionnait au détriment de la limpidité du texte des lettres. Dans tout autre cas, nous avons également jugé opportun que le texte de l'édition suive aussi fidèlement que possible le manuscrit.

1.

L'épistolographe informe son destinataire de l'issue d'une mission plutôt diplomatique à Nicomédie. L'entreprise, à laquelle l'auteur lui-même participait, était probablement organisée sur ordre de l'empereur. L'épistolographe exprime d'un style intense ses commentaires moqueurs, ainsi que son mécontentement et indignation pour leur accueil inacceptable à cause des fluctuations du comportement du gouverneur de la région. Les membres de la mission ont enfin été acceptés le troisième jour après leur arrivée et l'entreprise a été efficacement accomplie.

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44 Sur les particularités en ce qui concerne l'accentuation de *τὲ*, voir J. Noret, L'accentuation de τὲ en grec byzantin. *Byz* 68 (1998) 516–518, ainsi que quant à l'accentuation de *δὲ (δ')*, voir Annae Comnenae Alexias. Pars prior: prolegomena et textus, éd. D.-R. Reinsch et A. Kambylis. *CFHB*, 40.1. Berlin/New York 2001, 47–48 et Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae, éd. F. Kolovou. *CFHB*, 41. Berlin/New York 2001, 39.

| 1v Τὴν Νικομήδους ἡμᾶς ἴσθι κατειληφότας· οὔτε οἷς βεβουλεύμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπιεικῶς ἐκνικῆσαι ἰσχῦσαι καὶ οἷς προστετάγμεθα οὐ πάνυ πειθηνίους εὑρεῖν, πρὸς οὓς ἐπεπόμφειμεν. Αὐτίκα γέ τοι θυμὸς ἀπήντησεν ἄγριος ὑποσμύχων καὶ κινήσεις δὴ συνεχεῖς καὶ περιαγωγαὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. Οἱ δ' ὀφθαλμοί, βαβαὶ τῆς περιστροφῆς, εἰ δὲ βούλει παραστροφῆς, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδὲ προσβλέπειν ἢ ὅλως βλέπειν ἐῴκεσαν. Πῶς ἄν τις προσάψοιτο ἢ καὶ ἐφίκοιτο τῆς ἐπικαθημένης τῷ μυκτῆρι δριμύτητος; Οὕτως ἡμῖν διὰ πάντων φοβερὸς προσέβαλεν ὁ γεννάδας, δυσάντητον ἄντικρυς καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον ὀφθεὶς θέαμα. Κἂν ὑπεχωρήσαμεν, κἂν τὸν ἄνθρωπον παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκειμεν, εἰ μὴ δειλίας τὲ αἰτίαν ἐσχηκέναι τὸ πρῶτον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοσούτων ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ἀνασχομένους καμάτων· ἔπειτα ἀπράκτους ἀναζεῦξαι ᾐσχύνθημεν. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ὁμόσε ἰτέον ἔγνωμεν δεῖν· καὶ ἄνδρες ἀνδρὶ προσῄειμεν, ἀπτόητοι φοβερῷ καὶ τεταραγμένῳ καθάπαξ ἱλαροὶ καὶ ἡσύχιοι· καὶ τὰ συνήθη δὴ ταῦτα εὐφήμως τὲ καὶ καταξίαν προσείπομεν. Οὐ προσεῖπεν, οὐδὲ κατένευσεν, ἀλλὰ «τοῦτο δὴ πόθεν;» ἔφη, «ἐκ βασιλέως» ἔφην. Καὶ σιγὴ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀφωνία μακρά, ὥστε ἐξιππασάμενος (ἐπὶ γὰρ τοιούτου αὐτῷ συνηντήκειμεν σχήματος) μόνος ἤνυε δρόμον, οὐδενὸς οὐδενὶ λόγου μεταδιδούς. Καὶ ἡμεῖς, οὐ πλεῖ<ο>ν ἢ προσῆκεν ἀπέχοντες, [εἱ]πόμεθα συνιππεύοντες, ἕως ὅπου καταίρειν ἔδει καὶ [ἡ]μᾶς γενομένους ἀφ' ἵππων ἐγχειρίσαι τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ | 2r παρὰ βασιλέως προστάγματα. Καὶ ὃς ταῦτα δεξάμενος, οὐδὲ φθεγξάμενος οὐδὲ γρύ, σπουδῇ τὸν οἶκον εἰσῄει, ἐφῷ κατὰ μόνας, ὡς ἔδοξε, διασκέψασθαι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔνδον ἐπὶ γωνίας διέσκεπται, ἅπερ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ἐπὶ μέσου, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐγκεχείρισται. Ἡμεῖς δὲ, παρεστῶτες τὴν αὔλειον καὶ πρὸς οὕστινας δὴ τῶν συνήθων ἄττα διαλεγόμενοι, σύνθημα ἀνεμένομεν ἐκ στρατηγοῦ, πάντας οἴκοι ἀπιέναι κελεῦον· ἔνι γὰρ οὐδενὶ καιρὸν παρεῖναι ἐντεύξεως. Οὕτω πᾶσιν ἐδόκει στοχαζομένοις τοῦ βάρους καὶ τῆς τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καταστάσεως. Ἀλλ' ἐξῄει τίς τῶν περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν Σκυθῶν (οἶσθα δὲ ὡς πλείστοις τὲ κέχρηται καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν ἄλλων τούτοις πεπίστευται) ὑποβαρβαρίζων τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὡς τύχοι λέγων, ὡς ἄρα δὴ τῷ τούτου δεσπότῃ κεκλήμην. Τοῦτο οὐ πάμπαν ἀτρέστους, οὐδέ γε μὴν ἐνδοιασμοῦ χωρὶς ἔνδον εἰσέφερε· μόνοις γὰρ μόνῳ ἐπὶ τῶν βαθέων κοινολογεῖσθαι τἀνδρί, οὐκ ἀστείως ἔχειν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἄρα ἐδόκει. Εἰσῄειμέν γε μήν, οὔ, μὰ τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπὶ λογισμῶν ἔχοντες, ὅ τι πεισόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅ τι καὶ δράσομεν· οὐ γὰρ ἄχειρες πάντες ἡμεῖς, οὐδὲ καθάπαξ ἄναιμοι, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀλογώτατοι, ὥσπερ φύσει ταχθέν, εἴ τις λόγους μετῄει, τοῦτον δὲ ἄνανδρον εἶναι καὶ ἄναλκιν. Ἀλλ' εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν ἡμῖν καὶ ὀστέα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ δύναμις τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξημμένη πεισμάτων ἡρωικὴ καὶ γενναία, παρατοσοῦτον πείθουσα θανάτου καταφρονεῖν, παρ' ὅσον δὴ καὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τοῦτον ἡγούμεθα, πρὸς | 2v ἄλλα πολλῷ κρείττω διαβιβάζοντα. Οἱ δὲ (οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀμέλει μέτεστι λόγου, ταὐτόν δ' εἰπεῖν τε καὶ νοῦ), καθάπερ ζῷα τῷ ζῆν κεχήνασι, καὶ κακῶν ἔσχατον τὴν τούτου ζημίαν ἥγηνται. Σχολῇ γ' ἂν παρείη τοίνυν

αὐτοῖς, πλέον ἡμῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀφειδεῖν καὶ τὴν φέρουσαν εἰς θανάτου θαρρεῖν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ λόγοις ἐλέγχειν καὶ μεταπείθειν αὐτούς, σκληροὺς δή τινας καὶ ἐκ πέτρας εἰργασμένους, σχεδὸν ὅσα ἐς σύνεσιν τοῦ καλοῦ, οὐ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ ‘ἐξ ἄμμων πλέκειν’. Εἰ δ’ ἔργῳ δήποτε διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς γένοιτο, καὶ τὸ μεταπείθειν ἂν πάντως γένοιτο. Ἡμεῖς δὲ προσκληθέντες εἰσῄειμεν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, ἄλλα μὲν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κεύθοντες ἀτεχνῶς, τὰ δ’ ἐς συντυχίαν εὐπαρρησίαστοι. Ἆρ’ οὐκ ἔδεισας περὶ τῷ σῷ συγγενεῖ μή τι παρακινήσοι νεώτερον; Ἀλλά θάρρει· σοβαρὸν μὲν ἔδειξε σχῆμα, καὶ βλοσσυρόν τι καὶ τιτανῶδες προσέβλεψεν, οὐκέτι δ’ οὐδὲν πάραυλον ἔφησεν, οὐδὲ παρακεκινδυνευμένον εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ’ ἔτι προσιόντων, οὐδ’ ἐρώτησιν ἀναμείναντα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ βασιλέως φᾶναι μεθ’ ὅσης ἂν τῆς γοργότητος οἶσθα, εἰδέναι ὅ,τι κελεύοι. Ἐπεί δε κελεύοι καὶ σὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ λόγους ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, τὸ νῦν μὲν οὐκ εἶναι καιρόν (μαλακώτερον γὰρ ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα συμβαίη καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀνενοχλήτους εἶναι προσδέοι)· ἀπιόντα δὲ οἴκαδε, τὴν εἰσαῦθις πρόσκλησιν | 3[r] περιμένειν καὶ ἅττ’ ἐπιτετραμμένην εἴη, τότ’ ἐξειπεῖν. Ἐξέπεμψε καὶ ἐξήλθομεν. Καὶ πρώτην ἡμέραν μείναντες καὶ δευτέραν, τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐκλήθημεν, καὶ μεταβολὴ πάντων ἡδίστη σχεδὸν ἔδοξε. Σοβαρὰ μὲν ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄγρια πάντα ἀπέσβη, ἱλαρότης δ’ ἐξήνθησε καὶ χαρμονὴ τῷ προσώπῳ, καὶ (τί δεῖ πολλὰ λέγοντας μηκύνειν;) συμβούλοις ἐξεκείνου πρώτοις καὶ μόνοις ἡμῖν χρῆται, καὶ λεγόντων τὲ ἥδεται καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεται. Εἰ δ’ οὐ πάμπαν γε πείθεται, γνώμην οἰκείαν νέμει, φύσει μὲν αὐτῷ προσοῦσαν ἐπιεικῶς, ἡμῖν δὲ παραιτουμένην συγγνώμην, εἰ οἷς ἡ φύσις ἰσχυρὰν καθάπερ ἐνέπηξεν ἕδραν, ταῦτα κομιδῇ μεταστῆσαι οὐκ ἐξισχύσαμεν. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν οὕτω συμβάντες, οὕτω καὶ συνειδόμεθα· εἰ δ’ ἄρα καὶ σοὶ ταῦτά γε συνδοκεῖ, συμβουλόμεθα.

3 θυμὸς – ὑποσμύχων: cf. Sch. Hom., *Il.* 9, 678b.2; Gr. Naz., *Or.* 18, 25.14–15 (*PG* 35, 1013.41–42) | **8** δυσάντητον – θέαμα: cf. Luc., *Tim.* 5.10 | **20** οὐδὲ γρύ: cf. Ar., *Pl.* 17; Zenob. V, 54.1–10 (*CParG* I, 142.12–143.2) | **36** ἐξημμένη πεισμάτων: cf. Them., *Or.* 178.b.6 et 299.d.6–300.a.1 | **43–44** ἐξ ἄμμων πλέκειν: Aesop., *Prov.* 94.1; cf. Greg. Cypr. III, 46.1 (*CParG* II, 114.3); Macar. III, 97.1 (*CParG* II, 165.8); Apostol. VII, 50.1 (*CParG* II, 407.2); Th. Metoch., *Sem. Gnom.* 26, 2.27 (216.12 Hult) | **46** ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κεύθοντες: cf. Hom., *Il.* 9.313 | **47** παρακινήσοι νεώτερον: cf. Syn., *Dion* 3.58–59 (243.2–3 Terzaghi); Man. Strabor., *Or.* 1 [190.22 Gautier, *RÉB* 23 (1965)] | **48** βλοσσυρόν – προσέβλεψεν: cf. Joan. Scylitz., *Syn. hist.* Mich.3, 19.34 (108.95 Thurn); cf. etiam App. Prov. IV, 89.1 (*CParG* I, 455.9); Apostol. XVI, 64.1 (*CParG* II, 678.13)

6 ἐπὶκαθημένης cod. | **11** ἱτέον cod. | **17** πλεῖν ut vid. cod. | **23** ἅττα cod. | **36** γενναῖα cod. | **48** βλοσσυρόν cod. more byzantino | **54** an ἐπιτετραμμένον scribendum?

2.

L’auteur mentionne les tentatives d’un Paxès, appelé Choumnos par les Byzantins, pour trouver à l’étranger un mari à sa fille. D’un ton méprisant, ainsi qu’à l’aide

d'une allusion également railleuse, l'épistolographe juge négativement toutes ses intrigues afin d'accomplir ses buts rusés.

Ὁ ἐκ Σκυθῶν μὲν Παξῆς, Χοῦμνος δὲ ἐξ ἡμῶν, εἰ δὲ βούλει ἐκ σοῦ. Τούτῳ δὴ ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀλλοφύλων ζητοῦντι συγγένειαν, οὐ προῖκας διδόναι ὑπὲρ παιδός, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ λύτρων ἑαυτῷ κοινολογεῖσθαι συνέβη. Οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐλευθέρως ὁ κηδεστὴς αὐτῷ συνεφώνησε, μήτ' ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ ἀξιώσας μειζόνων ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς ἤλπισεν. Οὐ γὰρ μικροῦ τινος αὐτὸν τιμᾷ κομιδῇ, ἀλλὰ θησαυροὺς πολυταλάντους ταῖν χεροῖν ἔχειν οἴεται. Ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εὐτυχῶν οὕτω πεπειραμένῳ τῶν γάμων καὶ ἀντὶ | 3v θαλάμου φρουρὰν ὁρῶντι, συναχθόμεθά τε ὡς εἰκός καὶ συνεκκαλούμεθα ἐκ βασιλέως βοήθειαν. Τί δὲ γάμων ἔδει τοιούτων; Τί τοὺς μήπω βάσανον ἀκριβῆ δεδωκότας τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν πίστεως, τοιαῦτα προυτρέψαμεν πραγματεύεσθαι; Οὐ γὰρ τῆς κατασχέσεως αὐτὸν ἐλεοῦμεν μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς βουλήσεως ὑποπτεύομεν. Τίς γὰρ οἶδεν εἰ σκυθίζει πρὸς Σκύθας ἄντικρυς καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν ἑαυτῷ τῷ δοκεῖν, ἄλλα δέ, ὧν μήποτ' αὐτῷ θέα γένοιτο, μηχανᾶται κακούργως; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ χρόνος οὐκ εἰσάπαν ἐπιεικῶς φρουρήσει τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' εἰς φῶς τὲ προάξει καὶ ἀπελέγξει, τυχὸν μὲν ἔλεον, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ μῖσος ἐπιφέρων αὐτῷ. Ὅτι δ' ὁ Χοῦμνος ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς, μάνθανε.

5 – 6 θησαυροὺς πολυταλάντους: cf. Th. Metoch., *Eth.* 47.46 (108.1 Polemis) | **11** σκυθίζει – Σκύθας: cf. πρὸς Κρῆτα κρητίζεις, Diogenian. VII, 65.1 – 2 (*CParG* I, 297.10 – 11); Macar. VII, 35.1 (*CParG* II, 205.5); Apostol. XIV, 98.1 – 2 (*CParG* II, 628.2 – 3)

2 ἀλλοφύλλων cod. | **15** μῦσος a. corr. cod.

3.

L'épistolographe développe d'une manière très rhétorique, mais en même temps assez personnelle, son point de vue sur l'amitié et surtout sur les cas des amis qui, au fil des ans et dans certaines circonstances, se sont avérés déloyaux. À l'aide des pensées, souvent formulées d'un style philosophique, l'auteur critique vicieusement l'envie et la jalousie d'anciens compagnons et de toutes ces personnes qui se comportent inéquitablement ou faussement.

Οὕτως ὠνάμην σου τῆς φιλίας ἐπιεικῶς, οὐχ' ὅσα αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ ἠπατημένος ᾠόμην, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν εὖ φρονῶν ἀπευξαίμην μηδὲ ἑτέρῳ ἥκειν εἰς πεῖραν· καίτοι ἔγωγε, ὁ πάντα ῥᾴδιος καὶ αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν οἷς ἀτεχνῶς εἶναί τις ἐκ τῆς σῆς συνηθείας ἠξίουν, ὡς ἄρα δή τινι φίλῳ χρώμενος βελτίστῳ τὲ ἅμα καὶ λυσιτελεστάτῳ συνεῖναι. Ἀλλ' ἐψευδόμην, ἄνθρωπος ὢν καὶ ἀνθρώπινα περὶ ἀνθρώπου

φρονῶν. Καὶ ὁ πάλαι μοι σύμπνους καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἂν αὐτῆς δοκῶν ἀφειδεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μή τι κακὸν ἰδεῖν ἡμῖν ἐπερχόμενον, νῦν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως, ἀλλὰ | 4r σιγᾶν δεῖ τὰ σιγῆς ἄξια. Μᾶλλον δὲ τἀληθὲς ἐρεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐπιδήλως ἐξεῖπον οἱ ἀναγγείλαντες. Τοσούτου ἄρα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λελεγμένα ἐτίμησαν καὶ ἀνάξια σοὶ μὲν εἰρῆσθαι, σφίσι δὲ ἀναγγεῖλαι κἀμοὶ τὲ ἀκοῦσαι ἡγήσαντο, πλὴν ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλων ἐρρέθησαν ἰσχυρίσαντο. Κἄγωγε, νὴ τὸν φίλιον, καὶ διηγωνισάμην ἂν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διεπληκτισάμην παμπονήρους δή τινας οἰόμενος καὶ λογοποιούς· καὶ τῇ φιλίᾳ κακοήθως ἐπιβουλεύοντας, εἰ μὴ χερσὶ δεδεγμένος τὰ σὰ γράμματα, χεῖρας τὲ ἐπεδήθην ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χεῖλος δακών, ἠρέμα ἔχειν ἔκρινα δεῖν. Διεξιόντι γε μὴν ταῦτα, ὡς καλύπτεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπῄει ἢ ἀπομάχεσθαι, καὶ τῶν τέως ἀπίστων ἔννοιά τις ὑπέτρεχε πίστεως· θυμὸς γὰρ ἄντικρυς κρείσσων βουλῆς καὶ ὁρμὴ καθ’ ἡμῶν τεθηγμένη καὶ ἀπραγμάτευτος εἰρωνεία καὶ τἄλλα οἷς ἐπεδαψιλεύετο πάνυ γενναίως τὰ γράμματα καὶ προσεπεφόρει τῶν ἀνελπίστων ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλάτα σχολάζειν, μηδὲ πολλὰ χαίρειν ἔχειν. Καίτοι τὸ μὲν ῥημάτων οὐκ ἀπὸ πάνυ διανοίας ἐσκεμμένης ἡγμένων ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀηδίας ἀνασχέσθαι θυμοῦ, κἂν φιλοσοφήσοι τίς ἅτε ὢν πρὸς αὐτοῦ, εἴ τις μηδὲν ἐνέχυρον καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ διδοὺς δικαίως κατηγορεῖσθαι, ἔπειτα ἀδίκως ἀκούει κακῶς· εἰ δ’ ἀμέλει μεγαλόφρων ἑαυτῷ τίς εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ δοκεῖν ἑτέροις ποιούμενος ἐπὶ πραγμάτων ὀλιγογνώμων ἐλέγχοιτο, ταχὺς μὲν εἰς θυμόν, βραδὺς δὲ εἰς κρίσιν πεφωραμένος τῶν ἀκοῶν, αἰδὼς μὲν αὐτῷ κομιδῇ τῆς οἰήσεως, αἰδὼς δὲ τοῖς ἐξ ὁμοίας ἠπατημένοις περὶ αὐτῷ. «Τί φῄς;», «Μῶν σε ᾐνιξάμην», φησί, «καὶ ὀψὲ γοῦν εὖ γινώσκεις καὶ μεταμέλει σοι τῶν θυμοειδῶν ἐκείνων ὄντως γραμμάτων; | 4v Ἢ καὶ πάλιν διαβολή τις ἧκε σοι διαπόντιος, πλεῖστα ὅσα κατὰ τῶν φίλων κομιζομένη ἀγώγιμα καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μιγνῦσα τὲ καὶ ταράττουσα, ὥστε κατὰ τῶν φίλων ἐμεῖν προξενεῖν ἄττα οὐκ ἔδει, νεωνήτους δή τινας ἀτεχνῶς τοὺς πάλαι περιποθήτους ἡγούμενον;». Καὶ μὴν ἀνδραποδῶδες καὶ ἀγεννὲς ἀκριβῶς, εἴ τις ἁλοίη πᾶσι λόγοις ἐκκείμενος· καὶ καθάπέρ τι κοῦφον ὀρῷτο ὑπεξιστάμενος ἀνέμῳ παντὶ οὐδὲν οὐδόλως ἀντέχων ἢ καὶ ἐπέχων, ἀλλ’ ὡς εὐθὺς ἀκοῦσαι ἐκταραττόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ τὰς τῶν ἀκοῶν θύρας, φύσις μὲν ἀνεπέτασε, λόγος δ’ ἐπιστατῶν ἐδίδαξεν, οἷς ἀνοίγεσθαί τε καὶ κλείεσθαι χρή. Οὕτω δὲ ταύτας ἀνέτους καθάπαξ καὶ ἀζυγώτους ἐᾶν, ὡς ἀναβαίνειν θάνατον ἄντικρυς δι’ αὐτῶν (ἄπαγε), οὔτ’ ἀνδρὸς ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἄν τις ἐν τούτῳ νοῦν ἔχων φιλοτιμήσαιτο. Ἐμοὶ μέν γε ἀπείη τοῦτο, καὶ ὅστις φίλος ἐμοί· καὶ φιλοκρινοίην τοὺς λόγους καὶ μήποτε διαβολῶν γενοίμην στρατόπεδον, δρόμο<υ>ς ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ποιουμένων, ὁπότε βούλοιντο καὶ ὅσα βούλοιντο. Πρὸς δὲ τούτων, φιλίαν πρεσβεύοιμι καὶ τὰ δήγματα τῶν πάλαι φίλων, φιλήματα πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας ὁρῴμην οἰόμενος. Τὸ δὲ καὶ φλαῦρον ἐξενέγκαι τί κατ’ αὐτῶν, μή μοι δοίης, ὦ φίλιε· μή μοι ζῆν γένοιτο, εἰ τοῦτο μοι γένοιτο.

1 ὠνάμην – φιλίας: cf. Sch. Hom., *Od.* 4, 108.1–2 | **5–6** ἄνθρωπος – φρονῶν: cf. Arist., *EN* 1177b.31; cf. etiam *V. Aesop. (rec. 2)* 109.5 (101.31 Perry) | **7–8** σιγᾶν – ἄξια: cf. Ps.-Luc., *Philopatr.* 12.11; Eustr., *V. Eutych.* 990 (34 Laga); Ath. Chatz., *Ep.* 13.35 [49 Fagherazzi, *Studi bizantini e neogreci. Quaderni* 19 (1981)] | **11** νὴ τὸν φίλιον: cf. Sch. Ach. 730a.1; Synes., *Ep.* 129.10–11 (219.14–15 Garzya); Max. Plan., *Ep.* 95.5 (146.27 Leone); Const. Acrop., *Ep.* 114.2 (211 Romano); Mich. Gabr., *Ep.* 390.10 (615.11 Fatouros); Georg. Lacap., *Ep.* 16, 11.4 et 27, 28.1 (114.8 et 173.28 Lindstam); Nic. Greg., Ep. 40.14 et 46.39 (134 et 159 Leone) | **18** προσεπεφόρει: hapax legomenon | **26** Μῶν σε ἠνιξάμην: cf. S., *Aj.* 1158 | **31–32** ἀνδραποδῶδες – ἀγεννὲς: cf. Gr. Nyss., *Deit.*, *PG* 46, 569.49 (137.1–2 Rhein) | **34** θύρας ἀκοῶν: cf. θυραυλήσουσιν οἱ λόγοι περὶ τὰ ὦτα, Synes., *Regn.* 29.27–28; cf. etiam Mich. Chon., *Or.* 12.5 (I, 192.8 Lampros) | **36** ἀζυγώτους: hapax legomenon | **41–42** δήγματα – διαβάλλοντας: cf. Prov. 27.6; cf. etiam Const. Acrop., *Ep.* 183.1–2 (249 Romano)

19 ἄλλάτα pro ἄλλ' ἄττα more byzantino cod. | **21** εἴ τὶς cod. | **39** δρόμος cod.

4.

La quatrième lettre, la plus courte de toutes, consiste un jeu de mots à propos d'une personne, appelée Tzyros. L'épistolographe, une fois encore d'humeur moqueuse, qualifie cette personne comme fugitif et très gros. En outre, l'auteur mentionne qu'il va devenir «salé», du fait qu'il a essayé d'échapper à la fiscalité. D'autre part, le très «gros» Tzyros contraste phonétiquement avec le très petit maquereau séché, en même temps que son activité apparemment obscure est habilement comparée par l'auteur aux poissons qui, capturés à l'intérieur de la nasse, s'agitent en tous sens sans toutefois réussir jamais à s'en échapper.

Θυννῶδες ἀτεχνῶς τὸ ἐνθύμημα· εἰ δὲ βούλει, κτηνῶδες, εἰ μόνος αὐτὸς σὺ τὴν κοινὴν ᾠήθης ταύτην διαδράναι συντέλειαν, Τζύρε παχύτατε. Ἐντὸς ἀρκύων εἶ, δραπέτα. Κἂν ἄττῃς εἰς ὕψος, κἂν εἰς βάθος δύνῃ, κἂν στρέφῃ, κἂν ἄλλό τι τεχνάζῃ, οὐδέν σοι πλέον εἰς ἀποφυγὴν ἢ ἀπάτην προσέσται. Οὐχ' ἡμεῖς γε οὕτως ἁλιεῖς | 5ʳ ἀμαθεῖς. Ἀλλὰ χρυσίνους ἑκατόν σε τήμερον ἐκτίσαι ἢ ἐξεμέσαι δεῖ, οὐ πολλὰ λέγοντα, ἀλλ' ἀφωνότερον καὶ αὐτῶν ἰχθύων φαινόμενον, ἢ τὸν δημοκοπούμενον τζύρον αὐτὸς αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα ἀποφανεῖς. Χρήσεται γάρ τις ταῖς περιτταῖς σου σαρξὶν ἀληθῶς, οὐ τεμμαχίων μόνον ὡς λόγος ἐν αὐταῖς εἰ βούλοιτο εὐπορῶν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς οὐκ ἀμελέσιν αἰκίαις καὶ πλούτους ὁλοκλήρους ἀκριβῶς ἐκκαλούμενος.

1 Θυννῶδες – ἐνθύμημα: Luc., *JTr.* 25.18 | **2** Ἐντὸς ἀρκύων: cf. Ph., *Agr.* 24.2–3; *Sacr. Ab.* 31.6 et *Flacc.* 121.1; cf. Plu., *Luc.* 3, 6.6 | **6** ἀφωνότερον – ἰχθύων: cf. Luc., *Gall.* 1.23–24 et *Ind.* 16.8 | **8** περιτταῖς σου σαρξὶν: cf. Thdt, *Eran.* III, 221.21 (190.6 Ettlinger)

5 ἐκτίσαι sic cod. | **7** τζύρον: hapax legomenon [pro τσίρον (vel κίρρον?)] | **8** τεμμαχίων sic cod.

5.

L'auteur expose, comme dans d'autres lettres également, son avis sur l'amitié et les relations humaines fausses, en spécifiant davantage les causes de sa mauvaise humeur. Sa désillusion d'ailleurs, à cause des comportements si égoistes, lui ont provoqué une déception en ce qui concerne principalement la vérité des liens amicaux, surtout dans la cour impériale.

Τέως μὲν εἶχον εὖ ἐπὶ σοί· καὶ φρένας ᾤμην καὶ νοῦν ἐνοικοῦντα σοι προφαίνειν τὲ ἔχειν ὡς εὐθὺς ἰδεῖν καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πείρας, εἴ τις βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι, δεικνῦναι. Εἶτα σὺ μὲν πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτὸν τοιοῦτον οἷον ᾤμην ἀπέδειξας, ἐγώ δ' αὐτὸς ἐμαυτῷ πρότερον ἢ σὺ τοῖς δικαίοις εἴην ἂν ἐγκαλῶν· σοὶ μὲν ὄντι τοιούτῳ οἷος εἶ σύ, ἐμοί δ' οὐ προσῆκον ἀποσφαλῆναι τοσοῦτον τῆς ὀρθῆς κρίσεως ἐπὶ σοί. Τί ταῦτα, ὦ λῷστε; Ἐλελήθεις με καὶ λογογράφος [ὢ]ν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλει, τοῖς γὰρ λόγοις οὔ, μὰ τοὺς λόγους, δοκεῖ. Πολλοῦ μέντ' ἂν ἄξιον ἦν φλυαρία καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένης διανοίας γεννήματα. Ὁμήρου πυνθάνου, σοφώτατε, κἀκεῖθεν εὑρήσεις ἤκουσαν τῆς θαυμαστῆς σου τῶν λόγων συρροίας ἐμφέρειαν, ἐν οἷς φησὶ τῶν ἐπῶν (μᾶλλον δὲ τί λέγω; Αὐτὸς ἡμῖν αὐτίκα αὐτὸν ἐξεμέσεις τὸν Ὅμηρον)· «Θερσίτης δέ τις μοῦνος ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολῴα, ὅς ῥ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ᾖσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ᾔδει». Εὖγε, ὡς ἥρμοσας. Εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ λόγους προφέρων ὧν ἠρνήσω διάνοιαν; Ἔγωγέ τοι καὶ σοὶ μὲν [οἶ]δα θυμοδακὴς ὁ μῦθος. Οἶμαι γάρ που καὶ τοῦτο τῆς π[... ...]σας, ἰσχυρισαίμην δ' ἂν ὡς οὔποτ' ἐνόησας [.........]ω | 5ᵛ τὴν σὴν θαυμασίαν ἐπιστολὴν αἰσχύνεσθαι μὲν ἐπῄει καὶ ἐρυθριᾶν, οἷς ἄρα ὁρῴμην, ὡς ἐπιτηδείῳ καὶ συνεργῷ σοι χρώμενος, οὐχήκιστα δὲ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἐς ὅσον ἀπαίδευτος καὶ γνώμη καὶ γλῶττα, ὁπωσοῦν ἐπειλημμένη τοῦ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν ἐκτείνεται. Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἅλις ἐπιεικῶς, οὐ σοῦ γε ἕνεκεν ὡς ἂν ἤδη τῇ ἐπιπλήξει, ἀντ' ἐλευθέρας τὲ καὶ ἀνέτου, γλῶτταν ἑλομένου κεκολασμένην καὶ σώφρονα, τοῦ δὲ μὴ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπαιδευσίας ἁλῶναι σχεδόν, πρὸς ἀπαιδεύτους ἀκοὰς καὶ βεβήλους τῶν ἐκ παιδείας ἀφιέντας ἅττα καὶ λέγοντας. Σοὶ δὲ πῶς ἄν τις καὶ χρήσαιτο ὦ μακάριε; Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ταύταις δὴ διοικήσεσι συνεργὸς ἡμῖν καὶ ἀκόλουθος ὡς μὴ ὤφελες συνεξώρμησας, οἶσθα οἶμαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τούτου δὴ ἐπιλέλησαι, ὡς δ' ἀπόμοιράν σοι τῆς ἐργασίας ἀνατιθέντες, πλεῖστα περὶ συμμάχου παρὰ σοῦ ἠνωχλήμεθα, ὡς οὐκ ἐνόν σοι μόνῳ δῆθεν ὡς ἔλεγες τὰ τῆς ἀναθέσεως ἐξανῦσαι, καὶ τοῦτο πάντως οἶσθα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ τότε παριὸν ὕστερον εὐπορήσαντες ἐπέμψαμέν σοι τὸν συνεργόν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λαμπρῶς ἐξ ἀπόρου πόριμος γέγονας καὶ πάντα ἰσχύων ἐξ ἀνισχύρου, ὡς συνελόντα φάναι, οὐχ' ὅπως οὐ χρῄζειν τοῦ συνεργοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτὴν πᾶσαν τὴν ἡμῖν ἀνατεθεῖσαν δουλείαν τὴν σὴν φύσιν χωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ κρείττονα εἶναι ἢ κατὰ ταύτην καὶ μείζονός τινος ἑτέρας ἐφίεσθαι. Καὶ δυσχε-

ραίνεις καὶ λέγεις καὶ γράφεις, πολλήν τινα τὴν κωμῳδίαν ἄντικρυς χέων κατὰ σαυτοῦ, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως κατεύξαιντο οἱ ἐχθροί, παίζεις ἔχων, ὦ ἑταῖρε. Οὐ γὰρ ληρεῖς εἰπεῖν δίδωσι τὰ τάλαντά σοι τοῦ πώγωνος. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐλέγχους ἔχεις προφέρειν κατὰ τοῦ συντρόφου σαφεῖς τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς, πρόφερε. Καὶ κοινωνοῦ σε λυτρώσομεν πονηρ[οῦ τε] καὶ βλαβεροῦ. Εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔχεις, στέργε τὴν κοινωνίαν ἰ[..... σ]υνεργὸν ἀπωθούμενος, ἄλλό τι κατὰ σαυτοῦ δώσεις, | 6[r] ὑπονοεῖν· ᾧ τοὺς τὰς δημοσίας ἀνεζωσμένους πράξεις ἐνεχομένους ἐξελεγχθέντας, οὐ χαίρειν, οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα λογογραφεῖν, ἀλλὰ κλάειν ἀνάγκη τὲ καὶ σιγᾶν.

11–12 Θερσίτης – ᾔδει: Hom., *Il.* 2.212–213 | **13** θυμοδακὴς μῦθος: Hom., *Od.* 8.185 | **17** ἀπαίδευτος – γλῶττα: cf. Synes., *Ep.* 42.57 (74.1 Garzya) | **24–25** ἀπόμοιράν – ἐργασίας: cf. Nic. Blemm., *Reg Stat.* 5.2 (44 Hunger/Ševčenko) | **28** ἐξ ἀπόρου πόριμος: cf. Ps.-Gorg., *Fr.* 11a.192–193 | **33** παίζεις ἔχων: cf. Luc., *Icar.* 24.15 et *Sol.* 1.19; Porph., *Ad Il.* 19, 79sqq. | **34** τάλαντά – πώγωνος: cf. Synes., *Insomn.* 20.15 (187.18 Terzaghi)

2 δεικνῦναι sic cod. | **11** ρ' ἔπεα sic cod. | **14** post τῆς π spatium ca. 6 litt. exh. | **14–15** post ἐνόησας spatium ca. 10 litt. exh. | **23** δὴ: δεῖ cod. | **26** post ἀναθέσεως spatium exh. | **26** ἐξανῦσαι sic cod. | **37** post ἰ spatium ca. 5 litt. exh.

6.

L'épistolographe explique en particulier que sa mauvaise humeur est également due au fait qu'il s'est vu confisquer ses bêtes, probablement dans le cadre d'une mesure générale prise par l'Empire. D'une façon indirecte, toutefois, il met ce fait en corrélation avec des attitudes humaines, en général envieuses ou vengeuses.

Τῆς ἐν βασιλείοις ἡμερῶν ἤδη διατριβῆς μοι σχολάσαντι, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τοῦτ' ἴσως ἂν ἐπὶ ζητήσεως γένοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλό τι οἰήσοιτο, τὴν δὲ σὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλὴν οὐκ ἀμφιγνοεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι βουλοίμην. Καίτοι, νὴ τἀληθές, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν ἐρῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς σέ, τί τις ἂν ἀποκρύψαιτο; Τὴν πρότριτα τῶν ἵππων εἴτε ζήτησιν βούλει λέγειν εἴτ' ἀφαίρεσιν (οὐ γὰρ οἱ κεκτημένοι σχεδὸν διαφέρονται, ἧ γὰρ ἂν γελοίως ἐστερημένοι πραγμάτων ἀμφισβητήσειαν τοῖς ὀνόμασι), τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καινὸν ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἐξέφυγεν. Ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀγέρωχοι πρότερον, ταπεινοὶ τὴν γῆν αἴφνης ἐπάτουν καὶ εἰκῇ τοὺς ἀφαιρουμένους ἱκέτευον. Οὐ μὴν, οὐδ' οἴκοι τισὶ καθημένοις συνήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ βάραθρα ἠρευνῶντο, μυχοί, μέλαθρα, ὥστε γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν καὶ ἵππου πρόκυψιν. Ὁ Βελλεροφόντης τῳτότε μόνος ἐκφυγεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθη, εἰ μὴ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντεσοφίσαντο οἱ διώκοντες, Ἴκαροί τινες ἀναφανέντες εὐθὺς καὶ ἀέριοι. Οὕτω τὸ πᾶσιν ἡδὺ χρῆμα τῶν ἵππων ἀνιαρὸν κατεφάνη καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅλως κτήσασθαι πάντες ἀπηύξαντ' ἄν. Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς λείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως παρανάλωμα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγεγόνειν καὶ ὁ

τῆς μεγάλης σφενδόνης παρακοιμώμενος ἄγρυπνός μοι καὶ σχεδὸν ‖ 6ᵛ ἐκ κύκλου προσέβαλε. Καὶ ὢ τοῦ ἤθους, «τῶν ἵππων σου», φησί, «τῷ βασιλει δεῖ καὶ φέρων ἥκω σοι κέλευσμα τῇ αὐλῇ παραστῆσαι πάντας ἐνακαρεῖ». «Τί λέγεις, οὐδενός με», ἔφην, «βασιλεὺς ἀξιοῖ;». «Οὐδενός» φησιν, «οὐδενός. Σὺ δὲ οὐχ' ὅπως τοὺς οἴκοι σοι τρεφομένους προσάξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι σοι κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωνται, καὶ τούτους δὴ κομισάμενος τὴν ταχίστην ἐνθάδε, τὴν βασιλέως ἔσῃ πεπληρωκὼς προσταγήν». Ἐξῄειν εὐθὺς τῶν ἀρχείων, οὐχ' ἵππου μὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐπιβὰς ἡμετέρου, ἀλλ' ἀλλοτρίῳ χρησάμενος. Καὶ πάντας ἵππους, ἡμιόνους, ἐξελάσας τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ τοὐπίταγμα, πρὸς τὸν μέγαν τῆς σφενδόνης ἐξέπεμψα. Τῆς δὲ ὑστεραίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπ' ἀγροῦ συνεξέπεμψα. Ὁ δὲ λαφύρων ἄντικρυς καλλιστεῖον προσφέρων τούτους τῷ βασιλεῖ, λέγεται ἀνακαγχάσας ἐπαγωγόν τι καὶ χάριεν, ὡς ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ φρονῶν κατορθώματι, «οὐδὲ ἑνὸς» εἰπεῖν «τῷ κεκτημένῳ», ἐμὲ δὴ λέγων, «παραχωρήσας, ἐνταῦθα πάντας συνήλασα». Τούτου μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου μηδὲ πάνυ πολλὰ προσδεχθῆναι τὸν ἐντρεχέστατον πέπυσμαι, ἀλλ' ἀηδῆ τε δόξαι καὶ ἀδιάκριτα εἰργασμένον, εἰ καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν αἱ πρὸς ἄλλα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων ἀσχολίαι, ὡς ἔοικε, διεκώλυσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἱππικῆς ἐκπεσόντες, ὡς εἴρηται, εἰρήνην ὀχλήσεων ἄγομεν.

11 Βελλεροφόντης: cf. Hom., *Il.* 6.155 – 202

24 τοὐπίταγμα? cod. | **26** καλιστεῖον cod.

7.

L'épistolographe, se référant à nouveau à des amis qui ne se sont pas comportés comme ils l'auraient dû, il focalise son intérêt sur la jalousie et l'envie qu'il suscite, peut-être du fait qu'il jouissait de la confiance absolue de l'empereur. En raison surtout du fait qu'il a rapidement gravi les degrés de la hiérarchie et s'est vu confier plusieurs responsabilités importantes à la cour impériale, il semble qu'il ait été trompé par des amis et qu'il ait été injustement accusé, ce qui l'a conduit à tomber partiellement en disgrâce. D'un ton très personnel, d'ailleurs, qui s'apparente à la confession, il exprime généralement ses désillusions quant à sa position délicate et déplore de manière rhétorique la fausseté des relations humaines.

| 7ʳ [Ἐ]γώ δ' ἐξεπίτηδες σιγὴν δοκιμάσας μέχρι καὶ ἐστονῦν, μᾶλλον δὲ λογισμῷ γενναίῳ χρησάμενος καὶ προσστησάμενος καρτερίαν, οὐχ' οἵαν ἐπιεικῶς ἐγγὺς παραβαλεῖν ἐξεῖναι, εὐκαίρως ἤδη λαλῶ καὶ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δικαίαν καθίσταμαι, ὧν ἀδίκως, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἐγκέκλημαι. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολογητέον εἶναι καὶ τολμητέον, ἢ ἐφ' οἷς κινδυνεύεί τινι τὸ φαύλῳ εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳ, οὔτε σιγητέον ἂν καὶ οἰστέον ἐς τέλος πολλοῦ ἤδη καὶ πολλάκις κακῶς ἀκού-

οντα. Τομὲν γὰρ γνώμης ἐστὶν ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ἥκιστα πρέπον ἀνθρώπῳ σώφρονι, τῆς δὲ συνεχοῦς ἐπηρείας καὶ ἀκρίτου (πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι) ἐπιπλήξεως, οὐχ' ἡ σιγὴ ἀλλ' ἡ παρρησία σαφὴς ἀποσόβησις. Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν, εἰ δεῖ διελόντα περὶ τούτων ὀρθῶς ἀποφήνασθαι, εἰ γάρ τινι κατηγορίαις συνεξετάζεσθαι γένοιτο, γένοιτο δὲ ἐξανάγκης ἐνσχεθέντι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὅ δ' ἔπειτα σιωπᾷ, μέχρι μέν τινος τοῦτο ποιῶν, καλῶς γε ποιῶν οὗτος φαίνεται. Αἰδεῖται γὰρ ὁ κατήγορος πολλάκις τὴν σιωπὴν καὶ μεταβάλλει λογισμοῦ γενόμενος κρείττονος. Καὶ καλός γε ἐνταῦθα κομιδῇ τῆς σιωπῆς ὁ καρπός, οἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ διαμαχόμενος πᾶσαν τὲ λύει δυσμένειαν καὶ λυσιτελοῦντος αὐτῷ μετατάττεται. Εἰ δ' ἅπαξ ὁ κατατρέχων ἁλοὺς ἀκρισίᾳ, πράττει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σφοδρῶς ἐπεισρεῖ τῇ σιωπῇ καταχρώμενος, ἀντικαταστατέον ἤδη καὶ ἀνταγωνιστέον εἰς δύναμιν, μὴ ἄρα ἀμέλει τῷ ἀπαρρησιάστῳ καὶ ὃ παρὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων ὅσα ἐς ἀκρόασιν ἀρρεπῆ αὐτῷ ἐποφείλεται, οἷα δὴ γίγνεται, ζημιωθείη. Ὡς μὲν οὖν εἰς ἀνάγκην ἥκω κἀγὼ σιωπᾶν μὲν οὔ (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστι), κατηγορίας δὲ διαλύειν, ἂν ἄρα οἷός τε ὦ, καιρὸς ἤδη δεικνύναι. Ἐκεῖνο δ', ὦ πρὸς φιλίου πάντων ἄριστε καὶ σοφώτατε, ὅπως ἀνάσχοιό μου μακρὰ λέγοντος καὶ πλείονα τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν κατὰ σὲ πραγμάτων | 7v καὶ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως καὶ βραχύν τινά μοι χρόνον χαρίσαιο σεαυτόν, ἐφ' ᾧ διακοῦσαι τοῦ λόγου. Βουλομένῳ γὰρ ἔστι μοι βραχέαττα τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ προδιειλημμένῳ, τῶν ἐφεξῆς, ἔπειθ' οὕτω γενέσθαι καὶ προσδεῖξαι γε κομιδῇ, οἵῳ ἄρα ἐξ οἵων ἀξιωθείς, οἷος ἐγὼ πρὸς εὐεργεσίας τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας ὁ πάντα ἀδόκιμος, ἀμνήμων τὲ καὶ ἀχάριστος γέγονα. Ἐμὲ γέ τοι, σοφίας ἁπάσης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐνδιαίτημα, οὐκ εἴ τι μὴ τὰ ἐκ τύχης τὲ καὶ προγόνων τοιαῦθ' ἥκοι, ὥστε τρυφᾶν καὶ σεμνύνεσθαι, ὑπεπτηχέναι καὶ κάτω νεύειν ποιεῖ καὶ ὡσανεί τινα ἄφθεγκτόν τε καὶ ἄτολμον περινοστοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθὲς παρρησιασάμενον ἐξειπεῖν, πολλῷ γε τῶν πολλῶν διενηνοχέναι τήν γε εἰς τοῦτο κρίσιν ἴδοι τις ἄν. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πλείστους εὑρήσει πράττοντας ἐνίοτε ταπεινὰ καὶ πένητα βίον ἢ ἰδιώτην ὅλως ἕλκοντας, ἐν δεινῷ ποιουμένους καὶ μέγα ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ πολλὰ δὴ διαμεμφομένους τῇ τύχῃ, ὅτι μὴ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἡδύ τε καὶ προσηνὲς καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐλπίσι συμβαῖνον ὁρῴη. Εἰ δὲ συμβὰν οὕτω μεταβληθεῖεν καὶ πρὸς κρείττονα μοῖραν τετάξοιντο καὶ μειζόνων ἢ ὡς τοπρότερον αὐτῶν αἴσθοιντο, φεῦ τῆς εἰρωνείας, φεῦ τῆς οἰήσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ἀπάτης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἣ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἐσκέδασται, αὐτοφυεῖς εὐγενεῖς ἄρα οὗτοι καὶ πλούσιοι καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ σπαργάνων τὰς ἀξίας αὐτὰς περικείμενοι, τὰ πρόσθεν δ' ἐκεῖνα, φροῦδα καὶ πολλὴ λήθη καὶ σεμνοπροσωποῦντες προΐασιν, οὐδ' ὄνομα πενίας ἢ ταπεινότητος ἑτέρας ἡστινοσοῦν εἰδέναι ποιούμενοι. Εἰ δ', ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν, τῆς προτέρας ἐκείνης μνεία γένοιτο τύχης, οἵ δ' εὖ μάλα ἀηδῶς φέρουσι καὶ πολλοῦ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὶ | 8r δέουσιν, οἵ γε καὶ λεγόντων ἑτέρων, κἂν εἰς χεῖρας ἴοιεν, κἂν παθεῖν τὲ καὶ δρᾶσαι τολμήσαιεν τὰ δεινότατα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐχ' οὕτως. Ἀλλ' ἀμέλει τοὔνμέσῳ πολὺ καὶ ἐκ διαμέτρου φασίν. Οὔτε γὰρ εὐτελὴς τύχη καὶ βίος εὐσταλής τε καὶ εὔζωνος, κομιδῇ

δεινόν τε καὶ ἀποτρόπαιον καὶ μειζόνων αὖθις ἀμωσγέπως ἐπιτυχεῖς καὶ κρείττονος γενόμενοι καταστάσεως, τοσοῦτ’ ἀπέχομεν τοῦ περικαλύπτειν ἢ καὶ προφερόντων ἄλλων ἐγκαλύπτεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπομάχεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ μέγα ἀνακηρύττομεν καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνιωμένοις ἐοίκαμεν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα γνοῖεν ἅπαντες ἀτεχνῶς ὡς ἐξ εὐτελῶν συντελεῖς, ἐξ ἰδιώτου πολιτικοί, ἐκ μετρίων πλεῖστα ἐπικτησάμενοι ἐπιδήλως φαινοίμεθα. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ στέργειν ‘Σπάρταν ἣν λαχὼν’ τύχοι τις, σπαρτιάτης τὲ λόγος καὶ λόγια φασὶν ἱερά, ἕκαστον μένειν ἐφ’ ἧς ἐκλήθη τάξεώς τε καὶ στάσεως καὶ ὑπομένειν γε δηλαδή, ὡρισμένον ἑτέρωθεν εὐχαριστεῖν ἐν παντί, ὥστ’, εἴ τις ἐπιεικῶς τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς ἂν πάντως ἀρκοῦσιν ἀγαπῴη καὶ στέργοι, πρὸς τῷ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ φρονήσεως οὐ μικρὰν δόξαν ἀποίσεται. Τὸ δὲ τῆς πάλαι μεμνῆσθαι τύχης ἐν ὑψηλοτέρᾳ μοίρᾳ καὶ βαθμῷ μείζονι, οὐχ’ ὅπως οὐκ ἄρα αἰσχύνην οὐ φέρει τῷ γε νοῦν ἔχοντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς δόξαν ἐστίν, εἴ γε μὴ ὡς ἄλλον δή τινα κλῆρον μεταλαγχάνων, ἔπειτ’ ἐγκαλλωπίζοιτο, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ κοσμοῖτο καὶ τιμὴν τῷ γένει προσάγων ὁρῷτο, οὐ τιμὴν αὐτὸς ἐκ γένους δεχόμενος. Ταῦτ’ ἄρα καὶ νῦν ὁ λόγος μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος παρρησιάζεται καὶ διαμαρτύρεται, ὡς ἦν ποτε, ὅτε τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἦν καὶ γωνίας ἀπελαύομεν καὶ σχολῆς, πλὴν ἢ θελόντων παρούσης ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὅσα γε ἐς πορισμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· τῆς γὰρ ἐν λόγοις | 8ᵛ σχολῆς – ὤ, πῶς ἐνέγκω τὸ πάθος ἀδακρυτί; – οὔτέ τινα ἔσχομεν, οὐδ’ οὐ μήποτε σχήσειν ἐδοκοῦμεν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὡς οὐδὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βαῖνον ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσαεὶ διαμένον, λόγων ἐκείνων καὶ διατριβῶν ἡδίστων τὲ καὶ ἀρίστων ἀφέμενοι, πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι εὐπρεπῶς, τῶν πραγμάτων τὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου γιγνόμεθα καὶ μεταβάλλομεν – ἡδέως μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ ἔφην – ἡδίστην πάντων μεταβολήν; Ὡς δ’ οὐχ’ οὕτως ἡμῖν ἀπηντήκει, ‘χρῷ δῆλον’ ἡ παροιμία φησίν, ἵνα γὰρ παρῶ τἄλλα τῶν δυσχερῶν, ὧν τὲ ἐπιπλεῖστον ἀπολελαύκειμεν, καὶ ὁ λόγος ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη μνησθήσεται, οἱ ἐν λόγοις ἡμεῖς, ὦ θαυμάσιε, εἶναί τι πρότερον δόξαντες. Καὶ διατοῦτ’ οὐδὲν ἧττον εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς μέσον τὲ προσκληθέντες καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ φροντίδων ἀξιωθέντες καὶ διοικήσεων, νῦν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως, ὦ λόγοι, κινδυνεύομεν ξενίαν ὑμῶν καταγνωσθῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ παντάπασιν ἀλογίαν κατακριθῆναι καὶ μηδοπωστιοῦν ἡμῖν ὑμῶν μετεῖναι ἐξεῖναι ἀκούειν, εἰκότως μάλα καὶ πρὸς λόγον ὡς ἀληθῶς. Τί γὰρ ἔδει τῶν καλῶν δὴ τουτωνὶ θορύβων καθάπαξ ἑαλωκότας οὕτως ἀφηνιάσαι καὶ ἀποτρόφους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γενέσθαι τῶν παιδικῶν καὶ πόρρω ἥκειν λήθης αὐτῶν, ὡς μηδ’ ἡντινοῦν ἐν μέσῳ μνείαν ποιήσασθαι, μὴδὲ σπουδαῖον τί, μὴδ’ ἄξιον αὐτῶν ἐνδείξασθαί τε καὶ ἀπεργάσασθαι; Πλήν, οὕτως ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβουλεύμεθα καὶ ὡς βεβουλεύμεθα καὶ προσηκόντως ὠνάμεθα· ὃ δὲ λέγειν ὁ λόγος ὥρμησεν, ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καὶ ἀφανείᾳ καθημένοις ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἡ βασιλικὴ λαμπρότης ἐπέφανε. Καὶ φθάνομέν γε προσ‖9ʳ κληθέντες τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἔγγιστα δούλοις συνοικειούμεθά τε καὶ συνταττόμεθα. Ὦ, τί ἄν τις εἰπὼν ἀξίως εἴποι τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς τὲ καὶ φιλοτίμου γνώμης τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὑπερφυοῦς τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίας καὶ ἐγχειρήσεως; Εἰδὼς γὰρ ὁ σοφώτατος τῷ ὄντι καὶ οἰκο-

νομικώτατος ἐν κρίσει τῶν λόγων ἄριστος βασιλεὺς τὸ σχολάσαι λόγων καὶ μεταστῆναι τοῖς ἀπρὶξ ἐχομένοις αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνίας εἶναι καὶ ἀηδίας, τοσοῦτον ἄρα παραμυθεῖται καὶ περιγενέσθαι τοῦ πάθους ποιεῖ, ὥστε οὐ λόγους ἀπολιπεῖν. Ἀλλ' ἐκ λόγων εἰς λόγους καὶ οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε φασὶ μεταπεσεῖν ἡμῖν δόξαι, λειτουργίαν μὲν δή τινα προστάττει ταύτην ἡμῖν συγγενῆ καὶ οἰκείαν, ἐξ ἧς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἦν πειρᾶσθαι ὡστοεικὸς καὶ τῆς τοῦ λέγειν τὲ καὶ γράφειν ἕξεως καὶ δυνάμεως, οὐχ' ὅπως ἀπολαύειν ἐς κόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεπιδιδόναι μᾶλλον καὶ προσεπαύξειν καὶ τῶν ὁμιλιῶν αὐτοῦ συνάμα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ σχεδὸν αὐτοῦ σοφοῖς λειτουργοῖς ἀξιοῖ, ὁμιλιῶν λέγω, σοφίας μὲν οὖν μείζονός τε καὶ κρείττονος ἢ ὥστε καὶ ἁμιλλᾶσθαι, παρόσον οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς εἴδους, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῶν συνισταμένης καὶ τῷ τεχνίτῃ λόγῳ σοφῶς ἐξεικασμένης ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον. Τίς φιλοσόφων ἐπήβολος λόγων καὶ ῥητορείας εὖ ἥκων καὶ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐπιστήμων παιδεύσεως ἐγγὺς ἂν στῆναι τολμήσειε, καὶ στὰς οὐκ ἂν ἀπαγορεύσειέ τε καὶ ἀποκνήσειε; Τίς ὀξὺς οὕτω προβάλλειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν καὶ, ὡς εἰκὸς, ἀπορούντων ἑτέρων αὐτὸς τῶν λύσεων εὐπορεῖν; Τίς καὶ μόνον ἑτέρου λέγειν ἀπαρξαμένου ταχὺς ἀνακόπτων καὶ συνιεὶς καὶ συνείρων εὐθὺς τὲ καὶ συμπεραίνων, ἅπερ ἐπὶ νοῦ θαυμασίως ἔτ' ἔχοντι ἡ γλῶττά οἱ διακονεῖν ἔμελλε; Τίς διαιτῶν οὕτω παλαιοῖς τὲ καὶ νέοις, μᾶλλον δὲ νέα μὲν παλαιοῖς, παλαιὰ δὲ νέοις, συγκρίνων τὲ καὶ προκρίνων ἄριστα καὶ | 9v φιλοσοφώτατα; Τίς ἱστορίας ἁπάσης συναγωγεὺς καὶ ἀκριβὴς μνήμων καὶ φύλαξ, ὡς μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον γοῦν τὸν μέγιστον ὄντως αὐτὸν καὶ διαβατικώτατον καὶ χωρητικώτατον νοῦν παρατρέχειν δοκεῖν; Ἐπεὶ δὲ μνήμης ἐμνήσθην, λόγον ἐρῶ τοῦτον παντὸς μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον. Ἐν εἰδόσι δ' ὁ λόγος, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων μάλιστα ἐν εἰδότι γε σοί, οὐκοῦν οὐχήκιστα πιστεύεσθαι ἄξιος. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ γλῶτταν ἡμῖν ἐκείνην ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστήσειεν Ὁμήρου δεομένην ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μέλιτος γλυκυτέραν τὴν ταύτης αὐδὴν ἀποφαίνοντος καὶ ἐφείη τοῖς ἐκ μνήμης ἥκουσιν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι, ἡνίκά του τῶν λόγοις ηὐδοκιμηκότων σπούδασμά τι γενναῖον εἰς μέσον δόξοι προτείνειν, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐξαγγελίας κοσμεῖν ἀτεχνῶς – ὢ συνεχείας ἀνεμποδίστου, ὢ ταχυτῆτος, ὢ ἤθους, ὢ χάριτος – οὐκ ἐκ στήθους, ἀλλ' ἐκ βιβλίου φήσαις ἂν ἀγορεύειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διὰ γλώττης προφέρειν ἐκ πρώτης καὶ μόνης σχεδὸν τῆς ἐντεύξεως, ἃ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἤδη καὶ συχνῆς γε τῆς διασκέψεως ἑτέροις ἐσπούδασταί τε καὶ μεμελέτηται. Καὶ οὐ μέρη δή τινα καὶ τεμμάχια ἢ διὰ χάριν, ἢ διὰ χρῆσιν τυχὸν ἀπομνημονευόμενα, ἀλλ' ὅλας ἄντικρυς πραγματείας, ὅλα ποιήματα. Οὕτως ἡμῖν ἡ γλῶττα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ βίβλος βίβλων ἀληθῶς ἀναπέφηνεν, οὐκ ἀκοαῖς βεβήλοις καὶ ἀναξίαις ἀνοιγομένη – πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ – ἀλλ' οἷς τῷ ἀκούειν σὺν τῷ λυσιτελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ συνεῖναι συντρέχει, ὡς ὄντα τὸν μακαρισμὸν ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν λόγον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτην φιλοσοφίαν ζητεῖς, ἧς ἐν ἐλλάμψει τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι, πλεῖστα μὲν πράξεως, πλεῖστα δὲ ...

14 κομιδῇ τῆς σιωπῆς: cf. Th. Metoch., *Comp. Dem. et Ar.* 4.5 – 6 (50 Gigante) | **27 – 28** σοφίας – ἐνδιαίτημα: cf. Nic. Chon., *Ep.* 2.24 (203.12 Van Dieten) | **46** βίος – εὔζωνος: cf. Chrys., *Virg.* 44, 2.23 (254.41 Grillet/Musurillo) et *Hom. 1 – 67 in Gen.* 32, 3.78 – 79 (*PG* 53, 297.7 – 8); Eus., *V. C.* 1, 17.2.4; 2, 20.4.4 et 3, 43.5.5 (24.22, 57.7 et 102.20 Winkelmann) | **52** Σπάρταν λαχὼν: cf. E., *Fr.* 131.1 et 723.1; Plu., *Mor.* 472D 10 et 602B 8; Diogenian. VIII, 16.1 (*CParG* I, 307.3) et 46.4 (I, 314.7); Greg. Cypr. II, 76.1 (*CParG* I, 365.10) et III, 82.1 (*CParG* II, 118.18); Macar. VII, 78.1 (*CParG* II, 209.8); Apostol. VIII, 59.1 (*CParG* II, 447.4) et IX, 86.1 (*CParG* II, 480.19); Mantiss. Prov. II, 86.1 (*CParG* II, 772.1); cf. etiam Nic. Chumn., *Ep.* 4.13 – 14 (5 Boissonade) et L. Bardal., *Ep. ad imp.* 3 – 4 [107 Taxidis, *Parekbolai* 1 (2011)] | **69 – 70** χρῷ δῆλον: Pherecyd. Syr., *Test.* fr. 1.25; cf. Synes., *Ep.* 117.14 (202 Garzya) et *Calv.* 21.39 (229.11 Terzaghi) | **90** οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε: cf. Pi., *O.* 7.4 | **107** διαβατικώτατον – νοῦν: cf. Gr. Naz., *Hom. 1 – 26* 21, 1.27 (*PG* 35, 1084.22); cf. etiam Max. Plan., *Macr. comm.* 2, 17.4.6 (171 Megas) | **111 – 112** μέλιτος – αὐδὴν: Hom., *Il.* 1.249 | **121** ἀκοαῖς βεβήλοις: cf. Eus., *L. C.* Pro, 4 (196.2 Heikel); Gr. Naz., *Hom. 1 – 26* 2, 79.9 (*PG* 35, 485.23); cf. etiam Man. Gab., *Ep.* B39.44 (152.45 Reinsch) | **123 – 124** πρώτην φιλοσοφίαν: cf. Arist., *Metaph.* 993a.15 – 16; 1026a.24 et 1061b.19; *Phys.* 192a.35 – 36 et 194b.14 – 15; *Cael.* 277b.10 et *MA* 700b.9

3 παραβάλειν cod. | **24** ἐφῶ cod. | **37** τοπρότερον e corr. (τὸ πρότερον) | **60** αὑτὸς cod. | **66** εσἀεὶ cod. | **108 – 109** ἀλήθας cod. | **118** τεμμάχια sic cod.

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One erroneous attribution of *Defence of Eunuchs*

Abstract: The paper traces a three-century-long tradition of a mistaken attribution of the *Defence of Eunuchs* by Theophylact of Ohrid. Since Peter Lambeck, chief librarian of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, identified in 1671 the author of the treatise as Theodore Pedagogue, a poorly known tutor to the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the incorrect attribution was readily adopted and further disseminated by a series of scholars of the next generations. Although the issue of the authorship was successfully resolved as early as 1768 by Angelo Bandini, head of the Laurentian Library in Florence, the information remained unfamiliar to writers of the following centuries, leaving the entrenched error to persist until the late 1970s, on the eve of the first critical editions of the *Defence* (Gautier 1980, Spadaro 1981). The article follows the tangled history of the erroneous attribution, attempting to establish a kind of stemmatic regularity between several branches of the abortive tradition.

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The *Defence of Eunuchs*[1] by Theophylact Archbishop of Ohrid (c. 1050 – after 1107, or after 1126) occupies a unique position in the entire history of Byzantine literature. As mentioned in the two proems, the author – otherwise unnamed in any of the surviving manuscripts – wrote it at the request of his brother, a pious eunuch outraged at the blanket attacks on eunuchs in general. The treatise, composed in the form of a dialogue between two anonymous interlocutors – the one, a biased opponent in the guise of a monk, the other, a learned and finely ironic advocate of eunuchism, himself a eunuch of flawless character – is for the most part the latter's long monologue plea for eunuchism, based on a series of various arguments drawn from the Scriptures, church history, canon and civil law as well

1 The original title of the treatise is not preserved, hence it is variously substituted as (*In*) *Defence of Eunuchs*, *Apologie de l'eunuchisme*, *Apologie des Eunuchentums*, *Lobpreis des Eunuchen* or else (see footnote 4 below).

as hagiography and contemporary monastic life. By eloquently refuting all the malicious allegations of the opposite side, the apologist eventually points out the personal merit as the sole criterion for the evaluation of individual chastity and virtue, regardless of one's physical condition, which cannot ultimately affect the decisions of free will.

Theophylact's *Defence* has so far appeared in two critical editions, published in quick succession. The first one was that by Paul Gautier in 1980 – classic in many respects.[2] Soon afterwards, it was succeeded by Maria Spadaro's release, which came out in 1981, based on somewhat different editorial principles.[3]

This quite exceptional opuscule, unusual and completely isolated in a literary-generic sense,[4] occupies the central position within a unique five-piece body of minor non-theological compositions by the same author. It has been preserved in identical form and order in the two surviving codices. These are the *Laurentianus gr.* 59 – 12,[5] dating from the second half of the 13th or early 14th century, and the *Vindobonensis theol. gr.* 43,[6] a mediocre transcript of the former, made in the second half of the 16th century, entirely dependent on its prototype and therefore largely insignificant to the tradition of Theophylact's *opera minora* (apart from being of some assistance in solving a few illegible passages of the older manuscript). The five texts of the body (equipped with scanty conventional headings or simply unepigraphed, all lacking the name of the author) have no thematic unity or any closer interconnection. Almost all of them[7] belong to the period before Theophylact assumed the post of the Bulgarian archbishop, while still employed as City's professor of rhetoric and a court tutor to the purple-born prince

2 Theophylacti Achridensis orationes, tractatus, carmina, ed. P. Gautier. *CFHB*, 16/1. Thessaloniki 1980, 288 – 331 (or. 7); Gautier's introductory note is at 115 – 117.

3 M. D. Spadaro, Un inedito di Teofilatto di Achrida sull'eunuchia. *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* 1 (1981) 3 – 38; Greek text (without proems) is at 25 – 38.

4 On Theophylact's *Defence* (besides the introductory notes by Gautier and Spadaro accompanying the respective editions, see footnotes 2 and 3 above), see D. Simon, Lobpreis des Eunuchen. *Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Vorträge*, 24. Munich 1994, 5 – 27; M. Mullett, Theophylact of Ochrid's *In Defence of Eunuchs*, in S. Tougher (ed.), Eunuchs in antiquity and beyond. London 2002, 177 – 198; K. M. Ringrose, The perfect servant: eunuchs and the social construction of gender in Byzantium. Chicago / London 2003, specifically 195 – 202; Ch. Messis, Public hautement affiché et public réellement visé: le cas de l'*Apologie de l'eunuchisme* de Théophylacte d'Achrida, in P. Odorico (ed.), La face cachée de la littérature byzantine: Le texte et tant que message immédiat. Actes du colloque international, Paris, 5 – 6 – 7 juin 2008. *Dossiers byzantins*, 11. Paris 2012, 41 – 85.

5 F, according to Gautier, Theophylacti orationes (as footnote 2 above) 39. For the sake of simplicity, we will keep Gautier's sigla in the following footnotes.

6 V, according to Gautier, ibid. 42.

7 Except for the *Defence*, see ibid. 115.

Constantine Doukas (c. 1074 – 1095/1097), a short-lived son of the emperor Michael VII (r. 1071 – 1078) and Maria of Alania (c. 1050–after 1103). Hence it is precisely the *Institutio regia ad Constantinum Porphyrogenitum* (as it was conventionally – and mistakenly – entitled in the tradition of the early modern editions),[8] a long encomiastic and paraenetic speech addressing the royal pupil and his dignified mother, that constitutes the literary core of this little corpus – together with the *Defence of Eunuchs*, which precedes it.[9]

Institutio regia (Pierre Poussines)

Following the collection of letters published in 1617 by Johannes Meursius,[10] the *Institutio regia* was the first non-theological composition by Theophylact to be presented to the scientific community of the time. The first edition of this lengthy rhetorical encomium (*basilikos logos*) was published and translated into Latin in 1651 by a French Jesuit Pierre Poussines, or Petrus Possinus (1609 – 1686). The lat-

8 The actual title reads *To Porphyrogenitus kyr Constantine*; see the following footnote.

9 The *Defence* lacks the original title (see footnote 1 above). The rest of the body consists of three epistles, of which the one is addressed *To the Great Oeconomus, brother of the Patriarch*, and the remaining two to the author's students, both written in the manner of the similar rhetorical compositions by Michael Psellos: the former *To his unruly pupils*, the latter unepigraphed. Thus the actual order of all the texts in the five-piece corpus runs as follows: 1. *To the Great Oeconomus, brother of the Patriarch* (F ff. 219^{v}–220^{v} = V ff. 116 – 117^{v}); 2. *To his unruly pupils* (F ff. 220^{v}–222 = V ff. 117^{v}–121); 3. [*Defence of Eunuchs*] (F ff. 222 – 228 = V ff. 121 – 132); 4. *By the same, To Porphyrogenitus kyr Constantine* (F ff. 228 – 232 = V ff. 132 – 141^{v}); 5. *By the same* [*To his pupils*] (F ff. 232^{v}–234^{v} = V ff. 141^{v}–147^{v}).

10 Theophylacti archiepiscopi Bulgariae epistolae ... Leiden 1617. This is a unique collection of 75 letters taken from the Laurentianus gr. 59 – 12 (ff. 188^{v}–214^{v}), where they are immediately followed by the *Speech to one of his pupils concerning the grievances against the Latins* (ff. 214^{v}–219^{v}) and the five-piece body mentioned above (ff. 219^{v}–234^{v}) as well as the *By the same, To emperor kyris Alexios*, the last treatise in the codex (ff. 234^{v}–238). The superscription to the letters collection (f. 188^{v}: *Letters by the late kyr Theophylact of Bulgaria* [Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου Βουλγαρίας κῦρ Θεοφυλάκτου], cf. MEURSIUS, ibid. 1, 3 [no. 1]) consequently allows unambiguous attribution of all the individual texts in the series, which otherwise either completely lack the author's name or (as in the last three pieces in the codex) bear the conventional lemma τοῦ αὐτοῦ ('by the same'). The latter obviously makes sense only in the context of the given manuscript – the title of the letters collection being thus the ultimate reference for all the members of the manuscript section devoted to Theophylact's works (ff. 188^{v}–238). In other words, it is clear that the treatises, when devoid of such context (i. e. the relation with the letters collection), lose the cardinal reference point for determining their authorship – which will indeed be the case with the Vindobonensis gr. 43, where the letters are missing, see GAUTIER, Theophylacti orationes (as footnote 2 above) 39 – 40.

ter based it, to all appearances, on the *Laurentianus gr.* 56 – 1 (13/14 c.),[11] the other Florentine codex containing a collection of secular treatises by Theophylact.[12] Poussines was dealing very freely with the text by arbitrarily redefining it in terms of literary genre. Due to such intervention, what was essentially the typical royal panegyric, with a series of paraenetic items added, amounted to an *institutio regia*, a princely mirror, collection of basic instructions for the young ruler preparing him to accept the sovereign authority and responsibilities lying before him. In actuality, the publisher had a particular reason for such an overhaul. As he himself states in the dedicatory letter addressed to young Louis XIV, what he was accidentally attracted by whilst going through the unnamed manuscript of the Byzantine author (so far known primarily for his theological works) was a striking parallelism between the personalities of the two young rulers of the similar age, both in terms of their natural gifts, royal virtues, even their physical appearances as well as the fact that the youths were both still standing under the maternal care of the venerable queen regents, themselves also largely similar to each other.[13] Carried away by such enthusiasm, Poussines freely intervenes in the text, providing it with his own fairly pompous title in Greek (actually not existing in any of the manuscripts),[14] and dividing it

11 L, according to Gautier, ibid. 41.

12 Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοφυλάκτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Βουλγαρίας Παιδεία βασιλική. S. Patris nostri Theophylacti archiepiscopi Bulgariae Institutio regia. Ad Porphyrogenitum Constantinum. Interprete Petro Possino Soc. Iesu. Paris 1651. Poussines did not give any detailed description of the Florentine manuscript he had used, referring to it in rather vague terms, Poussines, ibid. Ep. [p. 2]. Unlike Gautier's opinion that the Greek text of Poussines was probably based upon the Laurentianus gr. 59 – 12 (Gautier, Theophylacti orationes, as footnote 2 above, 48), it is already the first lines of the *editio princeps* that clearly indicate a lot greater closeness to the Laurentianus gr. 56 – 1, cf. G. Prinzing, *Byzantinoslavica* 45 (1984) 65 note 9. Furthermore, Poussines has no doubt as to the speech's authorship. This is easily explained by the fact that the lemma of the first treatise in the three-piece Theophylact section of the Laurentianus gr. 56 – 1 (*The grievances against the Latins*) most directly reveals the identity of the author: *By the late kyr Theophylact of Bulgaria* (Τοῦ μακαρίτου Βουλγαρίας κῦρ Θεοφυλάκτου, Gautier, Theophylacti orationes, as footnote 2 above, 247, in appar. crit.), whereas the correlation between the remaining treatises of the group is entirely explicit this time: 1. *By the late kyr Theophylact of Bulgaria, The speech to one of his pupils concerning the grievances against the Latins* (L ff. 20^{v}–27 = F ff. 214^{v}–219^{v}); 2. *By the same, The address to emperor kyris Alexios Komnenos* (L ff. 27 – 31 = F ff. 234^{v}–238); 3. *By the same, The address to Porphyrogenitus kyr Constantine* (L ff. 31^{v}–37^{v} = F ff. 228 – 232 = V ff. 132 – 141^{v}).

13 I. e. Maria of Alania and Anne of Austria, see Poussines, Institutio (as footnote 12 above) Ep. [pp. 2 – 3].

14 See footnote 12 above. On Poussines' 'manie d'inventer des suscriptions', cf. Nicephori Bryennii historiarum libri quattuor, ed. P. Gautier. *CFHB*, 9. Brussels 1975, 37 – 38.

into two parts ('panegyric' and 'paraenetic') and a large number of smaller thematic subsections equipped with their own quasi-original lemmata, also fabricated in Greek for this occasion. Nonetheless, the *Institutio regia* has remained the only original issue of Theophylact's *Address to Constantine Porphyrogenitus* all the way up until the appearance of the modern critical edition by Gautier in 1980,[15] whereas the Latin text of Poussines' manneristic, flowery and slightly loose translation (along with his interpolations, which have since gone unnoticed) experienced several repeated editions, either alone or combined with the Greek original.

'Theodore Pedagogue' (Peter Lambeck)

Although serving as the only source for the great Meursius' edition of the letters, the *Laurentianus gr.* 59 – 12, which has best preserved the entire surviving secular work of Theophylact, will long remain virtually unknown to the scientific professionals of the day.[16] A little knowledge about the non-religious writings of the archbishop of Ohrid would however emerge from the second-rate manuscripts and younger transcripts stumbled upon during the inspection of this or that particular library collection. The fact that the manuscript collections in general had not yet been fully examined and properly inventoried as well as the relative vagueness of the contemporary notions of the stemmatic relationships among the individual manuscripts stored in various European libraries, contributed to the fact that this perspective had inevitably remained fragmentary and distorted.

The first theoretical speculations bearing on Theophylact's *Defence of Eunuchs* were therefore not unnaturally associated with such a random discovery. Although the *Laurentianus gr.* 59 – 12 is the only authoritative source also in the case of the *Defence* – the source that furthermore does not raise any doubts as to the question of the authorship of the treatise[17] – this peculiar piece of Byzantine

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15 Gautier, Theophylacti orationes (as footnote 2 above) 177 – 211 (or. 4); the introductory note is at 48 – 67. See the standard report in B. Leib, 'La Παιδεία βασιλική de Théophylacte, archevêque de Bulgarie, et sa contribution à l'histoire de la fin du XIe siècle', *RÉB* 11 (1953) 197 – 204.

16 As said, Poussines had founded his Institutio, in all probability, upon Laurentianus gr. 56 – 1, see footnote 12 above.

17 In fact, it was Angelo Maria Bandini (1726 – 1803), principal librarian to the Biblioteca Laurenziana, who was the first among modern scholars to establish – starting this time from the very internal connections of the Laurentianus gr. 59 – 12 (see footnote 10 above) – the correct authorship of all the *orationes* of the Theophylact corpus, including the unepigraphed *Defence* as well ('Auctor videtur idem Theophylactus tum huius, tum sequentis Allocutionis, & Apolo-

literature will for the first time draw attention to itself only when accidentally found in a younger transcript, namely the *Vindobonensis gr.* 43, kept in the Vienna Imperial Library – a manuscript that, according to its composition, provided no clue needed to trace the author. Peter Lambeck, or Petrus Lambecius (1628–1680), the then chief librarian of the Hofbibliothek, while supplying a thorough bibliographic description of the manuscript in the fourth book of his multivolume *Commentaries* (i.e. Catalogue) *of the Imperial Library* published in 1671,[18] pays special attention to establishing the identity of the author of the exceptional five-piece group of Byzantine secular treatises that make up a compact unit within the *Vindobonensis gr.* 43.[19] Indeed, Lambeck would have been spared the laborious effort of the risky speculations based only on intrinsic indications had he learned of the existence of the Laurentian manuscript – or else looked into Poussines' *Institutio*, published twenty years earlier: a simple comparison of the first sentence of the latter with the opening lines of the *Address to Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, which he himself quotes in the *Commentaries*, would have revealed that the two are actually one and the same, so eliminating any doubt as

giae', Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae … tomus secundus. Florence 1768, 516 § XXIX). Unfortunately, the Florentine librarian did not seem to have been blessed with sufficiently attentive readers, either in his own or in the century to come.

18 Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Sacrae Caesareae Maiestatis consiliarii, historiographi ac bibliothecarii Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber quartus. Vienna 1671, 1–15. The *Commentaries* were released in eight volumes, from 1665 to 1679. Daniel de Nessel (1644–1700), Lambeck's successor to the post of chief librarian, copied the respective section – in an essentially unchanged, just slightly abridged form – in the first part of his Breviarium et supplementum Commentariorum Lambecianorum, sive Catalogus … Vienna/Nuremberg 1690, 126–127. With Jacob Friedrich Reimmann (1668–1743), a German Lutheran theologian, literary historian and philosopher, the exhaustive description by Lambeck and Nessel will be reduced to a brief information: Bibliotheca acroamatica … Hannover 1712, 259–260. Lambeck's *Commentaries* are then reissued in the eight-volume edition by Adam Franz Kollar (1718–1783), which came out successively from 1766 to 1782, the Theologicus gr. 43 being found at the beginning of the fourth volume: Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber quartus, editio altera … Vienna 1778, 1–32.

19 Lambeck, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 11–15 = Kollar, Commentarii IV (ibid.) 22–32. Five *orationes* take up position between the poetic works by St Gregory of Nazianzus and De virginitate by St John Chrysostom. They, of course, faithfully repeat the order of the Laurentianus gr. 59–12, see footnote 9 above (cf. Gautier, Theophylacti orationes, as footnote 2 above, 42). For the detailed modern description of the manuscript see Hunger/Kresten, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 3/1. Codices theologici 1–100. Vienna 1976, 82–85 (Theophylact section at 83–84).

to the authorship of this and indeed all the other items of the group.[20] The *Defence* would have been without much ado attributed to Theophylact Archbishop of Ohrid, who was otherwise well known for his early issued comprehensive and influential exegetical and homiletic oeuvre.[21] Contrary to that, Lambeck, struggling to cope with poor information provided only by the anonymous manuscript lying before him, engages in a complicated but, oddly enough, highly consistent interpretive construction, based on a virtuoso combination of philological and historical scholarship and not unnotable forensic flair. The result is a little masterpiece of detective skill, wherein all components are fully conclusive – except for the conclusion itself.

The *Address to Constantine Porphyrogenitus* was conceivably the most natural starting point for the speculations about the authorship of the five-member corpus, and Lambeck, quite unsurprisingly, did not hesitate to connect the author's purple-born student with the well-known personality of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 913–959), the most famous bearer of the name. As for the figure of the emperor's teacher, Lambeck's historical scholarship will allow him to identify it already at the next step. Although shrouded in historical mist, this episodic character of the 10th century Byzantine court found its distinctive place in the reports by Byzantine chroniclers Theophanes Continuatus, Leon Grammatikos and Kedrenos, to all of whom Lambeck indeed refers, quoting them *in extenso*.[22] It is Theodore Pedagogue (Θεόδωρος Παιδαγωγός), tutor to the emperor, close to the empress Zoe (d. after 919), an influential courtier at whose initiative the conspiracy of general Leo Phokas (d. after 919) was thwarted and admiral Romanos Lekapenos (r. 920–944) placed on the throne to become the co-ruler of the minor Constantine, assuming the right of regency from the empress, its previous owner (919).[23] An important place in Lambeck's narrative oc-

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20 In fact, Lambeck did know of the Institutio regia, but he definitely did not have it in his hands to be able to get to know its text firsthand; see Commentariorum … liber quintus. Vienna 1672, 48, where a reliable confirmation of the indirect acquaintance is to be found, cf. footnote 49 below.

21 Lambeck himself possessed extensive firsthand knowledge of this part of Theophylact's opus, which is otherwise well represented in the collections of the Vienna Library, cf. Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 254; also Commentarii V (as footnote 20 above) 359–360. Thus virtually all the basic theological works found their place in his *Commentaries*, see Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 118 as well as Commentarii V (as footnote 20 above) 44–51, 191. Beyond this, a passage in ibid. 48 indirectly testifies to the awareness of Meursius' edition of the letters, and indeed of the Institutio regia by Poussines (see footnote 49 below).

22 Lambeck, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 13–15.

23 For Theodore Pedagogue, see PmbZ # 27684. It is needless to say that Zoe as regent for the minor Porphyrogenitus was most appropriately recognised in the person of the anonymous em-

cupies the figure of the (reputed) court eunuch Symeon, Theodore's brother, who was taken into exile along with Theodore, when the latter stood up for the imperial rights of his alumnus in opposing the growing autocracy of Lekapenos.[24] The figure of an honorable brother eunuch exposed to undeserved suffering was indeed the crucial piece to the puzzle. Surely Lambeck is not unfamiliar with the specific status eunuchs held at the Byzantine court. The reports of the historians he draws upon clearly testify to their enormous impact,[25] not least to the general bad reputation, based largely on the deeply entrenched and long-term stereotypes, which emerged, inter alia, already in the well-known and often quoted letter by St Basil the Great addressed to the heretic Simplicia, of which Lambeck too makes mention in his quick overview of the *Defence*.[26] So, according to Lambeck, there is actually nothing unusual in the fact that the ill fate of a powerful court eunuch – that Symeon might in any case have been – could constitute an appro-

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press regent of the *Address*, to whom a separate βασιλικὸς λόγος is dedicated there, GAUTIER, Theophylacti orationes (as footnote 2 above) 185.21 – 193.4; while the nearest paternal ancestors of the prince, whom the *Address* leaves unnamed too (βασιλικὸν πατρόθεν τὸ γένος [...] μακαρίῳ σου πάππῳ [...] θειοτάτῳ σου πατρί, ibid. 185.14 – 16), will be, with downright confidence, identified as Basil I (r. 867 – 886) and Leo the Wise (r. 886 – 912), the grandfather and father of Constantine VII: 'Eidem Orationi praeter gloriosam mentionem *Imp. Basilii Macedonis*, utpote qui *Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti* fuit *avus*, & *Imp. Leonis Philosophi* seu *Sapientis*, qui ejusdem fuit *pater*, inserta etiam est amplissima laudatio *Matris* ipsius *Zoes*', LAMBECK, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 12. In reality, the major section of the inserted praise, that exalting the exemplary monastic life and numerous charities of the empress nun (otherwise addressed in the second person singular, as obviously present to the delivery, cf. GAUTIER, ibid. 187.29 f., 191.4 f., 191.29 – 193.2), is fairly difficult to reconcile with the fact of the forced (second) monachisation of Zoe Karbonopsina – the punitive measure by which the disgraced conspiratress was permanently removed from the court and deprived of the regency. The learned Lambeck could not ignore the empress' genealogy either: although of noble birth, Zoe could hardly be seriously associated with the 'myriads of royal ancestors' (μυρίοις ἐπὶ μυρίοις προγόνους βασιλεῖς εὐτυχήσασα, ibid. 185.25), notwithstanding the usual rhetorical hyperbole.

24 For Symeon, see PmbZ # 27482.

25 In fact, the rebellion of Leo Phokas came as a result of the machinations of his brother-in-law Constantine Parakoimomenos, a powerful and influential eunuch of the empress Zoe, cf. LAMBECK, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 14 – 15.

26 Ibid. 12. Lambeck describes this letter in the third volume of his *Commentaries*, where he cites a larger excerpt of it (Commentariorum ... liber tertius. Vienna 1670, 132 – 133). The reference to the letter of St Basil in the context of the brief review of the *Defence of Eunuchs* can serve as an indirect testimony that Lambeck apparently had the insight into the whole of the treatise, not only of its incipit and desinit, which were quoted in his bibliographic description. According to him, the section devoted to refuting the criticism of St Basil would be located at the beginning of the *Defence* ('in principio hujus Orationis exagitari etiam & refelli locum *S. Basilii Magni contra Eunuchos*'), whereas it is actually found in the concluding part of the dialogue, see GAUTIER, Theophylacti orationes (as footnote 2 above) 329.15 – 18.

priate pretext for a literary consolation of the sort.[27] However, the librarian passes too easily over the fact that the name of this Symeon is mentioned only twice in the Byzantine historians, whereby without further characterisation whatsoever – except that the latter was simply reported as the 'brother of Theodore Pedagogue'.[28] Moreover, there is not a single word about Symeon's alleged eunuchism. We do not really have any idea about the character and life circumstances of Theodore's sibling.[29] The picture of Symeon as a powerful and wealthy eunuch at the Macedonian court thus proves to be entirely fictitious, serving only to provide a logical completion of Lambeck's theoretical construction. Finally, since, to his knowledge, the *Defence* and the remaining four *orationes* have hitherto not yet been released (the true content of the *Institutio regia*, as we have seen, went unnoticed by him), Lambeck announced their joint publication in an additional volume of the Parisian Corpus Historiae Byzantinae.[30] However, this was never materialised.[31] Yet the name of Theodore Pedagogue will hence-

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27 'ideoque haud mirum est, *Theodorum Imp. Constantini Paedagogum* consolandi & defendendi fratris sui *Symeonis* causa supra memoratam *pro Eunuchismo & Eunuchis* scripsisse *Apologiam*, utpote cum & *Symeon* ille inter praepotentes ac divites aevi sui *Eunuchos* non postremum locum obtinuerit', LAMBECK, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 15.

28 Συμεών, ὁ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφός: Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon, ed. S. WAHLGREN. *CFHB*, 44/1. Berlin / New York 2006, 313.72; ὁ τούτου ὁμαίμων Συμεών: Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum, ed. H. THURN. *CFHB*, 5. Berlin / New York 1973, 212.35 = Georgius Cedrenus, Compendium Historiarum II, ed. I. BEKKER. Bonn 1839, 296.13.

29 Except for the information that the brothers have been exiled to their family estate in Opsician theme, which may serve as an indirect indication that they probably were representatives of a wealthy provincial aristocracy.

30 LAMBECK, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 15. For the Parisian *Corpus*, see footnote 46 below. The later editors of the *Commentaries* (see footnote 18 above) also ignore the existence of Poussines' Institutio and its subsequent re-editions.

31 Gottfried Philipp Spannagel, or Spanagelius (d. 1749), a historian and second custodian of the Imperial Library, put a lot of effort into accomplishing the intended purpose of Lambeck. In the second volume of his unpublished seven-volume Historiae byzantinae supplementum, graece & latine, he provided the full (even doubled) transcript of all the five *orationes*, accompanied with the separate Latin translations by Erasmus Frölich (1700 – 1758), an Austrian Jesuit, historian and famous medallist of the time. However, as we learn from Kollar – once Spannagel's successor to an office of the second custodian – the undertaking had not begun under a lucky star. Spannagel, whose otherwise impeccable erudition came to the fore in numerous historiographical works, embarked this time on an enterprise that went beyond his capabilities. Due to deficient knowledge of Greek, he was forced to rely on the help of others, which ultimately proved unsatisfactory in many respects, and led at length to the abandonment of the entire project (KOLLAR, Commentariorum … liber primus, editio altera. Vienna 1766, 797 – 798; also IDEM, Commentariorum … liber tertius, editio altera. Vienna 1776, 148 n. A). According to Kollar, the *Defence* had been transcribed by an unskilled hand; besides, it lacked Latin trans-

forth remain for a long time inseparable from the Byzantine *Defence of Eunuchs*[32] – whatever might have been meant in the times to come by this extraordinary piece of mediaeval literature.

'Scriptor ecclesiasticus' (William Cave)

A few decades later, the shadowy figure of an almost anonymous courtier suddenly arose in the pages of another scholarly publication of the day. Obviously having no doubts as to the complete reliability of Lambeck's identification, William Cave (1637–1713), an English patristic scholar and author of the once influential *Literary History of Ecclesiastical Writers*,[33] went a step further than his predecessor by readily promoting Theodore Pedagogue into a renowned ecclesiastical writer of the 'saeculum obscurum' (i.e. the 10th century).[34] Thus the otherwise poorly known royal tutor became once and for several centuries to come firmly established as a largely indisputable author of a body of *quinque orationes*, with the curious *Defence* occupying the central position.

Cave's entry on Theodore Pedagogue appeared for the first time in the second part of his *History*, printed in 1698,[35] being thenceforth retained in its original form in all subsequent issues[36] – including the unauthorised one, published

lation as well ('*indocta manu exscriptum apographum adest: versio latina desideratur*', Commentarii IV, as footnote 18 above, 24 n. B).

32 'Est is THEODORUS quidam', states Kollar in 1778 – a decade after Bandini's Catalogus (as footnote 17 above) 516 – still with an imperturbable confidence, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 21 n. A.

33 William Cave studied at St John's College in Cambridge, where he obtained a doctorate in Divinity. In 1684 he received a canonry at Windsor and became vicar of Isleworth in Middlesex (1690). Among numerous works, the two are considered to be particularly responsible for Cave's posthumous fame: Apostolici, or the history of the lives, acts, death and martyrdoms of those who were contemporary with, or immediately succeeded the apostles (London 1677), and Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria (London 1688), which, despite its occasionally uncritical use of the sources, will be considered the best and most comprehensive compendium of the kind, virtually unrivalled for almost two centuries.

34 According to Cesare Baronio's nomenclature, proposed for the first time in the tenth volume of his Annales ecclesiastici. Rome 1602, 647A.

35 Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria, facili & perspicua methodo digesta, pars altera ... studio & labore Guilielmi Cave, ss. theol. profes. canonici Windesoriensis. London 1698, 310–311. The first part was published in 1688 (see footnote 40 below), and meanwhile reprinted twice, in 1693 and 1694, both issued in Geneva.

36 Starting from the the Cologny reprint of the following year: Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria ... Cologny 1699, 182.

in 1705[37] – all the way up to the final, expanded and authorised version in two volumes that was posthumously released in 1740 – 43 by Cave's close associates.[38] The reasons that had led the church historian to unreservedly adopt the author about whose identity even Lambeck retained some scepticism remain obscure, especially since nothing about the five compositions actually points to their reputed 'ecclesiastical' character – neither their headings, nor the short quotations of the opening lines, nor indeed Lambeck's historical and biographical conjectures, which Cave takes over more or less verbatim.[39] Furthermore, while we do not see anything unexpected in the fact that he, like his predecessor, lacked any idea of the existence of the *Laurentianus gr.* 59 – 12, we are all the more surprised at the circumstance that the English scholar does not refer to Poussines' *Institutio* either, since he was – judging from one conspicuous detail – supposed to be not at all unfamiliar with it. In fact, already the first edition of Cave's *History* contained the entry on Theophylact of Ohrid (within the section on the 11th century, or 'saeculum Hildebrandinum').[40] This will then remain unchanged until the last issue, revised 'ante obitum autoris'.[41] Here, amid a series of early publications of the theological works and letters by Theophylact, also the item on Poussines' 1651 edition found its place,[42] reading as follows: '*Institutio regia ad Constantinum Porphyrogennetam Michaelis Ducae filium*, Gr. Lat. a Petro Possino edita *Paris*. 1651. 4°.' This certainly would at least entail a real possibility that Cave *had* the opportunity to have in his hands the edition of

37 Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria … Geneva 1705, 495. This edition, published without the knowledge of the author, would have exasperated him so much that he refrained from printing a second edition. Nonetheless, the posthumous reprint of the unauthorised version appeared in 1720.

38 Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria …, vol. II. Oxford 1743, 93 – 94. The 1740 – 43 issue was thereafter reprinted in Basle in 1741 – 45 (voll. I–II).

39 It seems that Cave's decision was influenced by the simple fact that the five-piece corpus found itself within the context of a 'codex theologicus', sharing it with two conspicuous Fathers of the Church (see footnote 19 above).

40 Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria … London 1688, 620 – 621. Both 1693 and 1694 reprints include the entry on Theophylact (p. 434).

41 'Editio novissima [1740 – 43], ab autore ipsomet ante obitum recognita & auctior facta', see footnote 38 above. Yet the truth is that the 1698 edition (repr. 1699) for no apparent reason lacks the Theophylact entry. Actually, the entries on Theophylact and Theodore, as by some strange logic, never occur together in the same edition – all the way until the 1705 unauthorised one, since when they are no longer separated.

42 See Cave, Historia 1705 (as footnote 37 above) 536 (reprinted, as said, in 1720). In Cave, Historia 1743 (as footnote 38 above) 153, the item on Poussines' Institutio was supplemented by a footnote, in which we are informed about the existence of the two subsequent editions of the text (1711, 1729).

Poussines' *Institutio*. However, it would have meant that no sooner had he seen the first sentence of the Greek original than he easily noticed the complete concordance between these and the opening lines of *Ad Imperatorem Constantinum Porphyrogennetam, Leonis sapientis filium*, taken over from Lambeck and cited some thirty pages earlier. But Cave did not notice the coincidence. Had he, he would surely not have failed to fundamentally revise the entire Lambecian theory of the identity of the author of *quinque orationes*. In fact, he would have been compelled to completely reject it, which would have consequently meant the complete rejection of the contending figure of the imperial tutor Theodore Pedagogue from the section on the 'obscure century', and indeed finally resolving the issue of the authorship of the entire five-piece corpus. The puzzle of the *Defence of Eunuchs* would thus have been unlocked as well, at least partially (because much of it still remains a mystery to this day).[43]

However, Cave either overlooked the coincidence, or did not even have Poussines' edition in his hands, quoting its title only mechanically from some other source. Actually, an interesting detail would speak exactly in favour of the latter possibility. It is the striking specification 'Michaelis Ducae filius', which curiously lacks in an otherwise verbose title of the Poussines edition.[44] So it is difficult, in such circumstances, to assume that Cave himself (or some of his associates) could be responsible for this learned addition, which would have attested, if nothing else, to at least a clear awareness about the different identities of the two porphyrogenite addressees – if not even to certain deliberate endeavour to get this information explicitly communicated. But why would the English scholar, who too obviously failed to see any relationship between the two texts, suddenly have so meticulously emphasised their presumed – actually non-existent – specific distinctions? So it looks as though everything points to the fact that the conspicuous addition of the full paternity to the name of Poussines' Constantine Porphyrogenitus was in fact unintentionally taken over from somewhere else along with the entire item – if not together with the entire entry on Theophylact of Ohrid.

In search of a possible source of the disputed interpolation – and it would really have to occur in some writings of the second half of the 17th century – at-

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43 That is, the time of creation as well as the timing and historical context of the fictitious dialogue; but first of all, the identity of the author's brother eunuch, dedicatée and 'cause' of the treatise (generally accepted to be Theophylact's younger sibling Demetrios, as firstly stated in P. Gautier, L'épiscopat de Théophylacte Héphaistos, archevêque de Bulgarie. *RÉB* 21, 1963, 168; then reasserted by idem, Theophylacti orationes, as footnote 2 above, 17, 115; yet recently questioned by Messis, Apologie, as footnote 4 above, 62).

44 As indeed in all the manuscripts, see footnote 12 above.

tention should be focused, as is logical, mainly on the issues that are chronologically closer to the edition of Poussines. And indeed amongst them a work that immediately catches the eye comes into view, especially as created less than a decade since the *Institutio* became known to contemporary readers. It is the *Essay on ecclesiastical writers whom Cardinal Bellarmino took into account*, penned by the famous French historian and philologist Philippe Labbé, or Philippus Labbeus (1607–1667), and published in Paris as early as 1660.[45] As an early forerunner of modern Byzantology and founder of the notable seventeenth-century edition of the primary sources of Byzantine history,[46] the learned Jesuit was likewise one of the first experts to be seriously engaged in addressing the complex biographical and bibliographical issues related to the literary personality of Theophylact of Ohrid. Being one of the few professionals of the time to be able to shed more light on a rather vague chronology of Theophylact's life[47] as well as to systematically display the entire hitherto known (mainly theological) literary legacy of the archbishop, Labbé was also the first to integrate the *Institutio regia* into the remainder of Theophylact's oeuvre, by placing it into the common context along with the exegetical and epistolary parts of the corpus.[48] So when we come across the name of the royal addressee eruditely expanded by its lengthy patronymic, this will make us not surprised in the least if we know

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45 De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, quos attigit eminentiss. S. R. E. card. Robertus Bellarminus, philologica et historica dissertatio … duobus tomis [tomus primus]. Paris 1660. The entry on Theophylact of Ohrid is in the second volume: Dissertationis philologicae de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, quos attigit eminentiss. S. R. E. card. Robertus Bellarminus, tomus secundus … Paris 1660, 413 f. As seen by the title, the work is actually the supplement to the book of the same name by Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542–1621), De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus … Paris 1617 (the Theophylact section on which Labbé comments being at 285–286). In point of fact, Cave is quite well acquainted with Labbé's work (see Cave, Historia 1688, as footnote 40 above, Proleg. xxxi), which is evidenced by frequent references to both volumes of the Dissertatio (e. g. ibid. 169, 192, 235, 241, 442, appx. 124, etc.).

46 *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae* (a.k.a. 'Byzantine du Louvre', in 24 volumes, published in Paris between 1648 and 1711), which will serve as a model for the homonymous nineteenth-century Bonn series of Byzantine sources (1828–1897).

47 Labbé has provided a critical review of a series of the unsatisfactory solutions of his predecessors, starting mainly from the sound findings of Cardinal Bellarmino: Labbé, Dissertatio (as footnote 45 above) 413–414.

48 Bellarmino's fairly scanty bibliographical information includes only three theological items, otherwise lacking any accompanying remarks, Bellarmino, Scriptores (as footnote 45 above) 285. Contrary to that, Labbé provides a lot more complete and exhaustively commented list of all hitherto known theological works, which is now supplemented by Theophylact's letters and the Institutio regia, both published in the meanwhile: Labbé, Dissertatio (as footnote 45 above) 414–416.

that the learned intervention came from the pen of one of the greatest seventeenth-century connoisseurs of the intricate dynastic and family ties of the Byzantine court, known about by only a small number of initiates into the mediaeval history of the Eastern Empire. Furthermore, Labbé will spread the designation of the prince not only by providing it with the full regnal name of the imperial father, but also – in a slightly ostentatious way – with the then barely known derisive nickname of the latter, and even with the name of the empress mother herself (all completely absent in Poussines' title page), thus turning the cumbersome titulature into a little parade of historical scholarship, a kind of brief lesson in Byzantine history: *Institutio regia ad Constantinum Porphyrogenitum Michaelis Ducae Parapinacii & Mariae Augustae filium.*[49]

So, when Cave (of 1688) took over père Labbé's catalogue of Theophylacte's works, he completely retained both the predecessor's wording and order of the titles listed therein,[50] deviating only in a single case – and it was precisely the *Institutio regia*, whose vast imperial patronymic was reasonably disburdened, as perhaps found far too specified and over-informative for the given context. In doing so, the English scholar does not appear to have consulted Poussines' original in the least (obviously believing that Labbé had faithfully conveyed the entire wording of the *Institutio*'s title page).[51] Furthermore, it appears that

49 Ibid. 416. It is interesting to note that Lambeck himself was actually no worse informed about the historical personalities of the emperor Michael Doukas Parapinaces and his royal consort Maria of Alania, not least of the double marriage of the empress as well as her patronising relationship with Theophylact, whose *Commentary on the Four Gospels* was written at Maria's personal behest, see LAMBECK, Commentarii V (as footnote 20 above) 48; also IDEM, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 254; as well as the royal stemma appended in IDEM, Liber primus Prodromi historiae literariae … Hamburg 1659, 303. Since LAMBECK, Commentarii V (as footnote 20 above) 48, in the same context explicitly calls on LABBÉ, Dissertatio (as footnote 45 above) 413 – 414, it is all the more strange that the latter's item on the Institutio regia – the one, that is to say, in which the names of the imperial pair are worded almost identically – failed to provoke any remembrance of the homonymous porphyrogenite prince whose controversial identity was subjected to an exhaustive examination in the previous book of the *Commentaries*, i. e. LAMBECK, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 13. In any case, it is clear that Lambeck, at the very least, did know of the existence of Poussines' edition, although, by all means, only secondhand – via LABBÉ, Dissertatio (as footnote 45 above) 416.

50 CAVE, Historia 1688 (as footnote 40 above) 621. The list is in two places supplemented by the information taken up from Casimir OUDIN (1638–1717), a French Premonstratensian monk, historian and professor of theology in Leiden, in his Supplementum de scriptoribus vel scriptis ecclesisaticis [sic] a Bellarmino omissis … Paris 1686, 345.

51 In contrast to Cave, Oudin retains the whole formula 'Michaelis Ducae Parapinacii & Mariae Augustae filium' (Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis … tomus secundus. Leipzig 1722, 711). This is certainly the best proof that Oudin drew immediately upon LABBÉ, Disserta-

the resounding name of the purple-born son of Michael Doukas, surprisingly enough, did not call into Cave's memory the slightest idea of the namesake 'son of Leo the Wise', who was mentioned a few dozen pages back, in the entry on the literary legacy of Theodore Pedagogue. Thus the first opportunity for the *Defence of Eunuchs* to establish once and for all an incontestable author of its own was missed as well.[52]

'Un dessein singulier et bizarre' (Bonaventure d'Argonne)

By stepping into the new spiritual milieu of pre-enlightenment France, the puzzling topic finds yet another characteristic channel of literary transmission. It leaves the narrow domain of bibliographical description and philological considerations of purely academic interest as well as Latin, the traditional lingua franca of highbrow science. The peculiar historical phenomenon of writing a defence of a habit so repugnant to 'natural law' ceases to be a sheer antiquarian oddity known solely to few professional readers. Now it turns into a matter of wider theoretical concern among the contemporary *philosophes*, who become interested in

tio (as footnote 45 above) 416, and not on CAVE, Historia 1705 (as footnote 37 above) 536, with whom he could find only a truncated formula. As for the entry on Theodore Pedagogue (OUDIN, ibid. 432), it is but a full verbatim transcript of the corresponding item in LAMBECK, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 11–15. Labbé has also proved to be the starting point of Johann Albert FABRICIUS (1668–1736), a German classical scholar and bibliographer (Bibliothecae graecae libri V. Pars altera, sive volumen sextum. Hamburg 1714, 285). However, Fabricius did not assume the whole formula 'M. D. Parapinacii, etc.', but simply removed the emperor's hardly enlightening nickname, while at the same time maintaining the name of the empress mother: 'Mich. Ducae & Mariae Augustae Filium' – a point that is sufficient to indirectly confirm both the origin in Labbé's Dissertatio and the firsthand unfamiliarity with Poussines' original. The unabridged formula can be found even with Bandini, a clear testimony that the Florentine librarian too had no direct contact with the 1651 edition he recorded in his *Catalogue*: BANDINI, Catalogus (as footnote 17 above) 292.

52 The anonymous corpus will be accorded its suitable place in the voluminous *Theatre* [i.e. 'Overview'] *of anonymous and pseudonymous authors*, a peculiar opus compiled by Cave's contemporary Vincent PLACCIUS (1642–1699), a German philologist, librarian and professor of moral philosophy in Hamburg (Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum … Hamburg 1708, 380). As with Nessel and Cave – on whom Placcius does not appear to have depended – it is Lambeck's *Commentaries* that once again prove to be the ultimate source of the information. Thus Placcius repeats the exact wording of the entry on *quinque orationes*, releasing it from the Greek quotations and accompanying historico-biographical observations, while indeed retaining the conjecture about Theodore Pedagogue.

its more general cultural and historical implications. Dom Bonaventure d'Argonne, also known under the pseudonyme Monsieur de Vigneul-Marville (c. 1640 – 1704), a Paris lawyer, Carthusian monk and a renowned man of letters from the modernist camp,[53] was the first to make the curious information accessible to the widest intellectual audience of the day. In a brief entry from the second volume of his *Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature* (1700),[54] a popular collection of entertaining literary-historical did-you-knows excerpted from a wide variety of ancient and modern sources, Argonne mentions also an *Apologia for Eunuchism and Eunuchs* by a certain Theodore Preceptor, characterising the author's intention of writing a composition of the sort as 'strange and bizarre'.[55] The general information is almost certainly taken from the 1698 edition of Cave's *History*,[56] but the subtle point about the ultimate *strangeness* of the original purpose, which is not really found in any of the Latin commentaries, is due to the French critic alone. In reality, Argonne's inference has no real justification in the text of Cave's entry, which in turn faithfully conveys the core of Lambeck's historical reconstruction of the Theodore affair as well as hypothetical reasons for the emergence of the peculiar tract. Theodore wrote it, Lambeck / Cave is explicit, 'in gratiam & solatium fratris sui, qui fuit Eunuchus', namely, a eunuch

53 Noël Argonne first became a lawyer, then entered the Order of the Carthusians in Gaillon, Normandy, where he changed his name to Bonaventure, eventually becoming a vicar of the Carthusian monastery in Rouen. Argonne used to sign his works with various aliases, the best known being M. de Moncade and M. de Vigneul-Marville. His contemporary fame stems mainly from the three volumes of the Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature (Paris 1699–1701), a curious mixture of literary anecdotes, critical reflections and satirical remarks (particularly notorious by the unjust criticism of the Caractères by La Bruyère). See B. Rountree, Bonaventure d'Argonne: the seventeenth century's enigmatic Carthusian. Geneva 1980.

54 Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature, recueillis par M. de Vigneul-Marville. Second volume. Paris 1700. There is an identical Rotterdam imprint of the same year as well as several subsequent editions.

55 The entire notice reads: 'Théodore Précepteur de l'Empereur Constantin Porphyrogenite s'est avisé par un dessein singulier & bizare, d'écrire une Apologie *pro Eunuchismo & Eunuchis*': Argonne, Mélanges (as footnote 54 above) 132.

56 That is to say, the second part of Cave's compendium, where the name of Theodore Pedagogue is met for the first time: Cave, Historia 1698 (as footnote 35 above) 310. It is perhaps more probable that Argonne had in his hands the more recent Cologny imprint of the following year, i.e. Cave, Historia 1699 (as footnote 36 above) 182. It appears less likely that the French author called directly on Lambeck or Nessel, to both of whom Cave indeed makes precise references. Cave would also be a mediator of the Latin title 'pro Eunuchismo & Eunuchis', originally invented by Lambeck. Anyway, the formula 'Précepteur de l'Empereur Constantin Porphyrogenite' has its complete equivalent in Lambeck's 'Praeceptor Imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti': Lambeck, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 12.

who suffered undeservedly (as is quite clear from the suggested narrative).[57] So there is actually nothing strange and bizarre about such a motive: on the contrary, it is perfectly coherent and humanly understandable.[58] Yet Argonne apparently neglected it for a more attractive point: his main objective being no doubt to induce a spontaneous outcry of *bon sens* against a flagrant abuse of the law of nature, this utmost sanctity of the Age of Reason. In fact, there is no more appropriate case of such an abuse than the unnatural customs of the Eastern courts, both present and past – emasculation being indeed the most notorious one. Writing a theoretical defence of it would therefore be the highlight of Oriental oddity. It is this point, invented by Argonne, which decisively biased the next stage of the theoretical reception of the controversial issue.

'Mock encomium' (Charles Ancillon)

This further stage arrived a few years later, with the appearance of the once famous *Traité des eunuques* (1707),[59] authored by a French jurist, historian and diplomat Charles Ancillon (1659 – 1715).[60] An original discourse, without exact parallel in earlier and contemporary literature, the *Traité* was an ambitious attempt at the complete theoretical elucidation of the astonishing phenomenon

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57 Ibid. 11; Cave, Historia 1699 (as footnote 36 above) 182. Lambeck deemed it necessary to explicitly stress that the author's intention to console and defend his brother is actually by no means strange: 'haud mirum est, *Theodorum Imp. Constantini Paedagogum* consolandi & defendendi fratris sui *Symeonis* causa supra memoratam *pro Eunuchismo & Eunuchis* scripsisse *Apologiam*': Lambeck, Commentarii IV (as footnote 18 above) 15.

58 Its basic seriousness would also be implied by the supposedly 'ecclesiastical' nature of the treatise, depending on the overall context of Cave's *History*. The fact indeed could not go unnoticed by Argonne.

59 Traité des eunuques, dans lequel on explique toutes les différentes sortes d'eunuques, quel rang ils ont tenu, & quel cas on en a fait, &c. On éxamine principalement s'ils sont propres au mariage, & s'il leur doit être permis de se marier. Et l'on fait plusieurs remarques curieuses & divertissantes à l'occasion des eunuques, &c. Par M***. D***. S.l. [Amsterdam? Berlin?] 1707. The initials hide an anagrammed signature 'Monsieur C. D'Ollincan', which is found at the end of the dedicatory letter to P. Bayle (at that time already deceased). Ancillon's book was early translated into English by Robert Samber and published in Curll's printing house under the title Eunuchism Display'd … London 1718. See H. Berry, The castrato and his wife. Oxford 2011, 137 – 142.

60 Ancillon was a Huguenot refugee to Berlin (in 1685, as a consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes), where he was to become a co-founder of several major institutions of education and judiciary in the recently established Kingdom of Prussia as well as a court historian and advisor to the Great Elector and future King Frederick I (r. 1701 – 1713).

of eunuchism, specifically regarding its legal and moral implications for the institution of civil marriage. In keeping with his Protestant background, Ancillon defines the latter's paramount purpose as procreation. As we read in his dedicatory letter to Pierre Bayle, the study was occasioned by a particular instance of a certain lady being proposed marriage by a famous castrato star.[61] What, then, should be a principled approach to a situation where a male spouse does not meet the basic requirements of conjugal bonding? It turns out to be not at all easy to give a clear-cut answer to the question. Facing the perplexing issue in three major units of his book, the author provides a complete socio-historical phenomenology of eunuchism (part I), declares the substantial inadequacy of eunuchs to fulfil the natural, legal and religious purpose of marriage (part II), and finally refutes several counter-arguments favouring the marriage with a eunuch (part III).[62] In a characteristic passage at the beginning of the *Traité*,[63] after some attempts to establish a preliminary definition of a eunuch on the basis of a number of ancient sources,[64] Ancillon draws attention to the existence of one *Apologia for Eunuchism and Eunuchs*, a peculiar composition written according to a strange and bizarre design of a certain Theodore, preceptor to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Despite the usual accuracy regarding the sources to which he refers, Ancillon this time fails to reveal the fact that the statement is really a word-for-word transcript of Argonne's passage from the *Mélanges*. That is why the arbitrary point of his predecessor as to the alleged *strangeness* of the intention of the Byzantine writer was mechanically copied alongside the basic information on the existence of the curious writing. As Ancillon failed to identify his source, Argonne's qualification automatically became an integral part of his own narrative – a kind of a personal remark. In effect, Ancillon is at yet another remove from the Byzantine source, as he appears to be quite unfamiliar with the immediate reference of Argonne, the entry from Cave's *History*, whereas Lam-

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61 Ancillon, Traité (as footnote 59 above) Ép. [pp. 2 – 3].

62 These arguments are in any case fairly hard to rebut – in reality, all Ancillon's clever casuistry barely resists them. Here is how they actually read: a) at least some eunuchs are capable of satisfying the desires of a woman (ch. 1); b) marriage is a civil contract which is allowed everyone to enter into (ch. 2); c) eunuchs may perform all the duties of marriage, except those relating to generation, insofar as *consensus non concubitus matrimonium facit* (ch. 3); so, d) they can live with a woman as with a sister (ch. 4); e) or in a way habitual in the elderly, whom their age renders incapable of performing the functions of marriage (ch. 5); finally, f) when a woman is not oblivious to the condition of her future husband, he must be allowed to marry her if she so wishes, because *volenti non fit injuria* (ch. 6).

63 Pt. I, ch. 2, 'Ce que c'est qu'un Eunuque': Ancillon, Traité (as footnote 59 above) 6.

64 The most extensive quotation comes from the notorious letter by St Basil the Great to the heretic Simplicia, see footnote 26 above.

beck's painstaking speculations of the Viennese *Commentaries* remained entirely out of his sight.

As a matter of fact, each subsequent author, being a little less informed than his forerunner, manages the inherited data in a more and more leisurely manner. At each subsequent stage, the controversial information becomes less evidence-based, less susceptible to doubt and criticism, and hence all the more suited to arbitrary interpretation. Actually, none of the contemporary authors, not even Cave, could naturally have any precise idea of the specific content of an unpublished manuscript treatise, known only by a general bibliographical description provided by Lambeck. The librarian himself is, after all, cautious enough in his endeavour to establish whatever plausible authorship, whilst the person of Theodore Pedagogue appears with him as nothing more than a rather convincing conjecture. With Cave however the obscure figure of the imperial tutor, whose literary oeuvre is not evidenced in any historical source, turns into a representative 'ecclesiastical writer', whose creative personality raises no more questions.[65] Ar-

65 Cave's interpretation will acquire a number of followers among church historians and patristic scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who all readily embrace Lambeck's reconstruction recontextualised and implicitly redefined in Cave's 'ecclesiastical' key. In addition to the figure of Theodore, it is also his brother Symeon, a 'persecuted eunuch' and the most natural dedicatée of the *Defence of Eunuchs*, who has ensured himself a stable role of a deuteragonist in a largely established narrative. The entry on the literary oeuvre of Theodore Preceptor will thus find its place in the eight-volume *Universal history, sacred and profane* (1735 – 1747) by Dom Augustin Calmet (1672 – 1757), a Benedictine abbot, historian and theologian (Histoire universelle, sacrée et profane … tome huitième. Strasbourg 1747, 59 – 60). Although his 'frere Simeon, qui étoit Eunuque' ultimately depends on Lambeck, the librarian is most likely referred to only indirectly, via Cave (as indicated, inter alia, by the Cavian spelling 'Simeon', instead of 'Symeon', found with Lambeck; furthermore, as can be seen from the marginal note, Calmet expressly refers to the pagination of the unauthorised edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, i.e. Cave, Historia 1705 [or 1720] (as footnote 37 above) 495. Theodore and his eunuch brother appear a few years later in the pages of the twenty three-volume *General history of sacred and ecclesiastical authors* (1729 – 1763), whose author Dom Remy Ceillier (1688 – 1761), another erudite Benedictine historian of the church, relies this time explicitly on Lambeck (which is visible from his writing 'Symeon l'Eunuque' as well), although the general ecclesiastical context indicates the most likely indirect impact of Cave (Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques … tome dix-neuvième. Paris 1754, 591). Ceillier starts from Calmet's report (mostly retaining the latter's wording), but extends it with more detailed data based on Lambeck. Both Calmet and Ceillier repeat Lambeck's information on Theodore's writings 'still awaiting publication', although Ceillier's *History* contains also the exhaustive entry on 'Theophilacte' and his works, including indeed Poussines' Institutio regia as well (Histoire générale … tome vingt-unième. Paris 1757, 189 – 196, at 191). Both entries are kept in the later fourteen-volume Paris edition of 1858. We find Theodore Preceptor still in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the four-volume *Dictionary of Patrology* by Abbé A. Sevestre (Dictionnaire de patrologie …

gonne, in turn, concludes that a composition such as Theodore's *Apologia* was possible to emerge solely on the basis of a strange and bizarre intention of its author, although neither Lambeck nor Cave found anything bizarre in the author's motives (namely, his will to defend his brother against an unjustified attack).

Now Ancillon continues to freely build on the established tradition. Like Argonne in relation to Cave, he too has no doubt about the implicit interpretation of his immediate predecessor (apparently taking at face value the latter's direct knowledge of the Greek source). Since the *Apologia* was featured, in Argonne's opinion, according to some eccentric purpose, Ancillon will take it upon himself to identify the true essence of such an aim. Well, what on earth could make someone seriously argue for eunuchism and eunuchs? Such an objective could not but be non-serious – in fact, openly frivolous by its nature. What we are dealing with here, Ancillon infers – with an admittedly convincing consistency – is really a typical progeny of the well-known satirical genre of the paradoxical eulogies of unworthy trifling objects, otherwise sufficiently represented in all periods of European literature and shared by both East and West. According to the French author, 'one looks at this work in the same manner as one looks at the Praise of Busiris by Isocrates, that of Nero and that of gout by Cardano; that of poverty by Synesius; that of blindness by Passerat […]' – as well as many other well or lesser known pieces of the kind, cherished likewise by the ancient and modern, certainly not leaving unsaid the most notorious of all, Erasmus' *Praise of Folly.*[66] The most important thing at this stage of the 'reception' of the Byzantine writing is the substantial revision of its generic character: a de-

tome quatrième. Paris 1855, col. 1536). However, Sevestre's entry is nothing but a literal copy of Ceillier's list of Theodore's works (whereby Ceillier appears to be the only one of the three scholars to directly consult the text of Lambeck's *Commentaries*). Anyway, the nineteenth-century patrologist had no idea of the attribution proposed by Bandini, who had successfully solved the problem nearly ninety years before; see BANDINI, Catalogus (as footnote 17 above) 516.

66 'Theodore, Précepteur de l'Empereur Constantin *Porphirogenite* [sic], s'est avisé, par un dessein singulier & bizarre, d'écrire une Apologie, *pro Eunuchismo & Eunuchis*, mais on regarde cet ouvrage de la même maniére qu'on regarde l'Eloge de Busiris par Isocrate, celui de Néron, & celui de la Goutte par Cardan; Celui de la pauvreté par Synesius; celui de l'aveuglement par Passerat; […]': ANCILLON, Traité (as footnote 59 above) 9. Properly speaking, the list of the examples does not come from Ancillon either, but is drawn almost literally from the first volume of the *Judgments of the Savants* by Adrien BAILLET (1649 – 1706), a French divine and critic, where it runs as follows: 'C'est ainsi qu'Isocrate a fait l'éloge de *Busiris*, Cardan de *Néron*, Synesius de la *Pauvreté*, Passerat de l'*Aveuglement*, […]' (Jugemens des sçavans … tome premier. Paris 1685, 528 – 529). Consequently, the core of Ancillon's originality would actually consist in functionally merging the information taken from Argonne with that of Baillet (both times without indicating the source).

fence grew into a praise. Moreover, a composition whose original gravity was not challenged by either Lambeck or Cave – the latter included it among the works of ecclesiastical literature – the *Defence of Eunuchs* amounts to a kind of erudite buffoonery.

One amongst dozens of mock encomia that emerged at the height of the modern blossoming of this popular genre of humanistic literacy was also the *Triumph of the Raven* (1619) by Antoine Uzier (fl. first half of 17th c.), a long-forgotten literate and parish priest of Einville-au-Jard.[67] A Rabelaisque drollery, in which the controversial reputation of the sinister bird is defended mainly by a number of quasi-learned arguments drawn from the Bible and ancient history, the *Triumph* saw a new (stereotyped) edition after more than two centuries since its first appearance (1839). In the accompanying postface by Jean Cayon-Liébault (1810–1865), an editor of the reprint, Uzier's work was assigned to the class of kindred 'essays on the strangest subjects', the penultimate item in the lengthy list being indeed the *Apologia for Eunuchism and Eunuchs* by Theodore Preceptor, now largely naturalised in the new literary-generic environment.[68]

'Miettes philosophiques' (Alain Grosrichard)

Since Cayon's information was obviously taken from ancient Charles Ancillon, it can serve as a reliable testimony that the *Traité* had its readers until well into the nineteenth century. In truth, it is read much later too, because we shall encounter it as a seminary of the information on Theodore Preceptor and his funny praise even as late as the second half of the twentieth century.

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67 Triomphe du corbeau … Nancy 1619. The scant biographical information had been culled (in fact, solely on the basis of the data from the *Triumph* itself) by Dom Augustin Calmet in his Bibliothéque lorraine … Nancy 1751, coll. 1044–46, s.v. Uzier.

68 The immediate source of Cayon was most certainly not Argonne's Mélanges. The overall context clearly points to Ancillon as a model (note the keyword 'singulier' too): 'Ce désir inquiet, inné, autant peut-être que l'envie d'exercer ou de délasser son esprit, semble avoir porté les hommes, de tout tems, vers l'examen des choses les plus singulières: tels, Homère a chanté le combat des rats et des grenouilles; Virgile, le moucheron; Ovide a fait l'éloge de la puce; […] Théodore, précepteur de l'Empereur Constantin Porphyrogenite, s'avisa d'écrire une apologie *pro Eunuchismo et Eunuchis* […]' (Triomphe du corbeau, réimprimé chez P. Trenel … Nancy 1839, [postface] iv–v).

Ancillon thus appears as the hero of one of the crucial chapters of the *Structure du sérail*, the classic study by Alain Grosrichard published in 1979,[69] where the *Traité des eunuques* (put in the title of the given chapter)[70] serves as the most representative example of the contemporaneous theoretical considerations of the subject. Deriving the Freudian consequences of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Western fantasies of the Oriental court, perceived as a highly sexualised site of ever-insatiable craving for an all-powerful, invisible and ever-elusive 'One' – the illusory figure of the despot in its ultimately phallic capacity[71] – Grosrichard assigns a privileged role to the eunuch as *the* inhabitant of the seraglio who is not just one among others (alongside children, mutes, dwarfs and wives), but in a way superior to all, being simultaneously 'the stage director as well as the leading actor' in a kind of 'awesome masquerade' the imaginary seraglio appears to its Western audience.[72] By establishing himself as 'the picture of alterity itself, the Other who arouses all the others, the educator of their desire, the stroke or the cut which connects the sexes and makes their connection both necessary and impossible',[73] the eunuch epitomises 'the commander and arbiter of that symbolic game [...] who creates, in their reciprocity, the husband and his wives, the master and his subjects.'[74] 'It is from Ancillon's bemused investigations,' Grosrichard points out, 'that we see how – albeit obscurely – the case of the eunuchs illuminates the essential connection between castration and mastery, and the paradoxical nature of what we must call the phallic signifier.'[75]

Be that as it may – leaving aside the subtle inferences on the fantastic seraglio and the equivocal ontological status of the eunuch in its framework – we shall turn to a single detail in the Ancillon chapter of Grosrichard's book, the one

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69 A. GROSRICHARD, Structure du sérail: la fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l'Occident classique. Paris 1979. Alain Grosrichard (b. 1941) is a contemporary French philosopher, Emeritus Professor of seventeenth and eighteenth-century French literature at the University of Geneva, former member of the École de la cause freudienne, currently President of the Jean-Jacques Rousseau Society in Geneva. In addition to the Structure du sérail, Grosrichard published numerous articles on French literature and philosophy of Enlightenment as well as on psychoanalytic criticism. The Structure du sérail was translated into English under the title: The Sultan's court: European fantasies of the East (trans. by Liz Heron, intr. by Mladen Dolar). London / New York 1998. All the present quotations in English are taken from this edition.
70 Pt. III, ch. 2, 'Le "Traité des eunuques"', GROSRICHARD, Structure (as footnote 69 above) 187.
71 In the Lacanian sense of the term, cf. ibid. 232.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid. 201.
74 Ibid. 202.
75 Ibid. 194.

that immediately concerns the narrow subject of our paper. And this is about the very opening section of the given chapter, where Grosrichard recalls the characteristic passage of the *Traité* in which Ancillon expresses his ‘amazement’ at the existence of an *Apologia pro Eunuchismo et Eunuchis* composed by Theodore, tutor to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus – a strange composition that could only be understood as a sophisticated game in the manner of rhetorical adoxography.[76] Time and again, we are witnessing the tacit force of the ‘living tradition’. In so doing the modern philosopher not only joins, without knowing it, a long series of authors of more than three centuries who all unreservedly accept the literary creativity of Theodore Preceptor as well as the traditionally established authorship of the intriguing opuscule – what is more, he adopts at the same time the whole of the implicit interpretive narrative originally invented by Charles Ancillon, the last creative deliverer of the traditional message. Furthermore, repeating the habit of his predecessors to unquestioningly assume the inherited report as proven truth based on firsthand knowledge and prudent criticism involved, Grosrichard himself adds a not insignificant connotative coating to what he has received, by delicately fitting the traditional ‘data’ into his own theoretical construct. ‘In his view (though he is wrong)’ – Grosrichard is quick to infer in the name of Ancillon (while at the same time distancing himself from the attitude of the latter), only to eventually credit him with an interpretation which is *nowhere actually read* in Ancillon’s commentary – ‘there is nothing to be learned from these eulogies of the Negative, from these *philosophical crumbs* dropped by a few great men.’[77] By imputing the ultimate philosophical objective to one of them – the ‘great’ Theodore Preceptor – Grosrichard made

76 ‘Dans son très érudit *Traité des eunuques*, publié en 1707, Ancillon s’étonnait que Théodore, précepteur de l’empereur Constantin Porphyrogénète, se soit un jour avisé, “par un dessein singulier et bizarre, d’écrire une Apologie “*pro Eunuchismo et Eunuchis*”” et y voyait un jeu rhétorique et sophistique, du genre de celui qu’on trouve dans *l’Éloge de Busiris*, par Isocrate, *De la laideur*, par Favorinus, *De la goutte*, par Cardan, ou *De la vermine*, par Schuppius’: ibid. 188 (the last one, Laus pediculi of 1629, is actually by Daniel Heinsius).

77 ‘Il n’y a rien à apprendre, selon lui (mais il a tort), de ces éloges du Négatif, de ces *miettes philosophiques* laissées par quelques grands hommes’, ibid. (my emphasis). As for its alleged philosophical background, the *Defence of Eunuchs*, according to Grosrichard, would actually represent a kind of late offshoot of ancient sophism. In this context, the role of the Traité would have been most appropriately compared with that of Plato’s *Sophist* – if indeed Ancillon only had ‘a little more audacity or liking for dialectic’ (ibid. 198). Just as the Platonic sophist survives only through the reality of non-being – which is the inevitable consequence of avoiding ‘Parmenides’ paralysing assertion – being is, non-being is not’ – so is the eunuch that paradoxical, ‘sophistic’ creature which ‘navigate[s] between […] extremes […] being simultaneously a subhuman man and a superman, the most abject of slaves and the most prestigious of masters’, the existent non-being, the ‘other’ (ibid. 198, 199).

a subtle, barely perceptible but substantial interpretive shift, turning a sophisticated game into a sophistic diatribe.[78]

Published on the very eve of the first critical editions of the *Defence of Eunuchs*,[79] the *Structure du sérail* by Alain Grosrichard remains the last stop in the centuries long odyssey of Theodore Pedagogue an imaginary author of a piece known to everyone and nobody at the same time – a stop that will mark the real end of one fictitious literary career.

Conclusion and stemma

Summing up our brief history of one librarian error, we shall try to trace a certain logic and regularity in the intricate and unpredictable routes of its literary transmission.

Certainly all these routes lead to Lambeck as the common ancestor – the ultimate originator of the entire erroneous tradition. It is therefore Lambeck (1671) who would be the immediate parent of Nessel (1690),[80] Cave (1698),[81] Placcius (1708),[82] Oudin (1722)[83] and Kollar (1778).[84] However, the last three will at the same time be the sole and ultimate members of their own branches, which die out without leaving further issue; Nessel (1690), for his part, has one descendant, Reimmann (1712),[85] with whom this short-lived branch extinguishes as well.

78 As for Ancillon himself, there is really nothing philosophical about the extravagant purpose of writing an apologia for eunuchs. The stern Huguenot does not even seem to recognise any ironic, dissembling ('sophistic') overtone with the aforementioned authors – as for him, their unacceptable frivolity is simply reprehensible: 'Ces gens là ont entrepris de louer ce que toute la terre méprise & blâme, s'imaginant que cette singularité exciteroit la curiosité & l'admiration des lecteurs. Mais tous ces livres n'ont point rendu les sujets qu'ils ont traitez plus louables, ni plus légitimes […] On a beau faire des apologies pour cette ridicule, injuste & barbare coûtume de faire des Eunuques, il n'y a personne dans le Christianisme qui ne le déteste, & qui dans l'occasion ne s'écriât à l'encontre […]': Ancillon, Traité (as footnote 59 above) 9–10.
79 Gautier, Theophylacti orationes (as footnote 2 above); Spadaro, Inedito (as footnote 3 above).
80 See footnote 18 above.
81 See footnote 35 above.
82 See footnote 52 above.
83 See footnote 51 above.
84 See footnote 18 above. As we have seen, Kollar was the first to be potentially in a position to consult Bandini, Catalogus (as footnote 17 above) 516, and thus to ultimately undo the Theodore Pedagogue theory (within some of his exhaustive comments in footnotes), but he failed to do so (see footnote 32 above).
85 See footnote 18 above.

Hence it remains Cave (1698), who occupies a very particular position amongst all of the progeny of Lambeck's, as he proves to be the sire of a completely new and independent branch of tradition, the one whose abundance, continuance and capacity for additional branching heavily prevail over the rest of the family tree. In any case, Cave's line itself splits into two subdivisions (a trait which is not observed with any other member of the Lambecian lineage), and these two are Calmet (1747) – Ceillier (1754) – Sevestre (1855),[86] and Argonne (1700) – Ancillon (1707) – Cayon (1839) / Grosrichard (1979) (the last member of the latter being itself further divided into two separate partitions, Grosrichard's one reaching up to our days). So what is that so clearly distinguishes the branch of Cave from the remainder of Lambeck's stock?

In fact, all the immediate descendants of Lambeck – with the exception of Cave – convey the message on Theodore, the alleged author of the *Defence of Eunuchs*, by adding no extra information to the inherited data, entirely true to the archetype, as one may say.[87] This part of the tradition could therefore be properly characterised as 'cold' – to paraphrase the well-known term of Lévi-Strauss – that is to say, conservative, inert and unfit for further development or internal mutations. One is tempted to explain the short duration of its individual shoots by this very 'coldness', this sterility inherent in all the non-Cavian rest of the progeny.

However, as we turn to the descendance of Cave (1698), we immediately perceive a far greater dynamic in both horizontal and vertical axes of the tree. It is reflected in a double branching and a more numerous seed, which will give birth to several generations of offspring. It would thus be the true paradigm of the 'hot' tradition, which is typically inaugurated by the very example of its founder: the same as Cave himself, his descendants *do not remain mere transmitters* either. Anyway, at this level of the tree – as in the previous one – we find the characteristic bifurcation in 'cold' and 'hot' subtraditions.[88] The latter is by far the most vigorous and prolific section of the whole tree, unique in that it is the

86 See footnote 65 above.

87 It is true that, whilst a number of authors only literally transcribe Lambeck's account, the others cite it in an abbreviated or somewhat adapted form (the same holds for Cave). What is common to all, regardless of the extension of the quote or individual stylistic differences, is that what we are dealing with here is the simple delivery of the *relata refero* type, with no *essential additions* to the connotative package of the inherited message.

88 The Calmet subdivision, although establishing another 'cold' tradition, differs from the immediate descendants of Lambeck (i.e. Nessel, Placcius, Oudin and Kollar) in that it is based on Cave's general assumption about Theodore as an ecclesiastical writer (which, as we have seen, was Cave's original contribution to the tradition). On this fundamental presupposition rests then the whole 'patristic' subdivision as such.

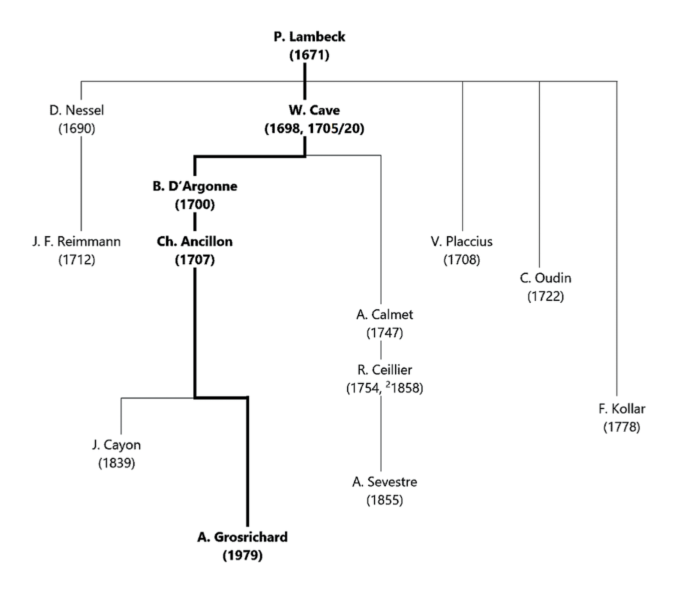
only one which introduces another subdivision,[89] a fact that testifies to its tenacious liveliness and long-term fertility.[90] So what is the secret of such an enduring dynamism?

Undoubtedly, it is about an original, creative treatment of the traditional message. Its random users now address it in a far more liberal manner, constantly adapting it to all the current needs they might encounter in their theoretical pursuits. So it always becomes functionally associated with a particular agenda, in which it is given the role of a presumed 'historical confirmation'. In such a way, Theodore Pedagogue, a little-known episodic figure in Byzantine history, whose literary work is unknown to any of our sources, begins his fictitious wanderings as an austere ecclesiastical author, only to end them as a frivolous satirist and 'sophist'. On the other hand, the controversial treatise of his alleged authorship, a composition which none of our scholars (except for Lambeck) was really familiar with, passes through the entire series of generic mutations, moving from an earnest piece of theological literature (Cave) to a bizarre 'defence of the indefensible', originating from some unknown design (Argonne), and from there further on to a mock praise, a learned joke (Ancillon), until it finally ends up as an astute philosophical discourse in the manner of sophistic diatribe (Grosrichard).

To conclude, it would appear that even an ill-conceived tradition, like any living organism, possesses its own 'Darwinian' mechanisms of survival and regeneration. Thus it will make more than one attempt to settle and establish itself under given conditions. Some of these attempts fail already in the first or, at most, the second generation. Such abortive branches are characteristically marked by information inertia and absence of any inner tendency for further development. The other ones are grafted to more lively organisms – those of certain preconceived narratives, gaining thus the role of fictitious evidence and proof of whatever thesis to be proved within an overarching ideological framework – a kind of 'mutualistic symbiosis' that would provide the most effective means to protect against ephemerality. Such 'hot' tradition now proves to be the only one to have real prospects for continued survival – the tradition capable of ever re-doing and creatively recycling a hereditary error.

89 That once more characteristically separates into one 'cold' (Cayon) and one 'hot' scion (Grosrichard).

90 Its last offspring, Alain Grosrichard, is our living contemporary.



The direction of the flow of information on Theodore Pedagogue, the alleged author of the Defence of Eunuchs (the 'hot' tradition in bold).

Douglas C. Whalin

A note reconsidering the message of Heraclius' silver hexagram, circa AD 615

Abstract: The hexagram was first minted during the darkest days of the final Roman-Persian War (602–628) when Roman fortunes were at their lowest. As a result, commentators have read the coin's novel inscription, *Deus Adiuta Romanis* (God, help the Romans) as evidence for the 'stressful and desperate' state of the empire. This paper presents the case that reading the coin alongside evidence for popular military practices instead paints a picture of the Roman state apparatus deftly manipulating mass propaganda. For the Romans in the 610s, these new coins signalled not defeatism but defiance and the promise of victory.

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The last Roman-Persian War began following the overthrow of the Roman Emperor Maurice (582–602) in AD 602, and only concluded in AD 628 following the overthrow of the Persian Emperor Khusrov II (590–628) when both parties agreed to an armistice and a return to the *status quo ante bellum*.[1] While most of the war went poorly for the Romans, the 610s marked the nadir for Roman fortunes. A civil war at the beginning of the decade saw the usurper and Maurice's murderer, Phokas (602–610), overthrown by Heraclius (610–641), son of the Exarch of Africa. Political division at home undermined the effectiveness of the eastern armies who had fought the Persians to a stalemate for almost a decade. The Persians inflicted a string of defeats in northern Syria early in the decade,

1 The chronology of the war is much better understood now than only a few decades ago thanks to several studies which have constructed a mostly-coherent narrative out of the notoriously difficult source materials. Studies of note include W. Kaegi, Heraclius, emperor of Byzantium. Cambridge 2007. J. Howard-Johnston, Witnesses to a world crisis: historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century. Oxford 2010, particularly 436–445. P. Sarris, Empires of faith: the fall of Rome to the rise of Islam, 500–700. Oxford, 2011, particularly 236–258.

driving the Roman armies back into Asia Minor. The cities of the Levant and Egypt, cities whose wealth had formed the bedrock for Roman rule in the east for over half a millennium, were now exposed to invasion and one by one fell to siege or threw open their gates for the Persian armies. Antioch surrendered in 611, Damascus in 613, Jerusalem was captured in 614, and Alexandria was occupied in 619. Persian forces raided the Asian shore opposite Constantinople itself in 615, and would lay siege to the city in 626.[2]

Such losses left the organs of the Roman state, in particular the military and the fiscal administration, in complete disarray. Roman armies had to be rebuilt, requiring new recruits, improved morale, and retraining in more flexible tactics. This program was witnessed by George of Pisidia when he visited Emperor Heraclius at the army's training camp in Bithynia in 622, and recorded in his poems *Expeditio Persica*.[3] George quoted verse summaries of the emperor's speeches in which 'Heraclius portrayed the war as a religious one against a loathsome, pagan enemy and urged his troops to act as God's plasmata, as the obedient agents of His will.'[4] The rhetorical elevation of the war, from one of defending the Roman homeland (*Rhomania*) to one of defending Christianity from religious enemies, also reflected a very practical search by Heraclius for new allies abroad and as-yet untapped resources at home. For the former, he cultivated new alliances with the Turkic Khagan who currently held sway over the steppes and turned to the Christians of the Caucasus to support his renewed guerrilla-style offensive warfare.[5] But before any of this could happen, the government's ability to raise revenue and support its military had to take priority.

As it had for centuries, the Roman Empire of the early seventh century relied upon revenue systematically generated from taxation of agricultural lands. Its principal expenses were the military, the salaries of its civil officials, and public infrastructure. In practice, this had relied on the gold currency, the solidus, which was the only token accepted for the payment of government debt; in turn, the men who fought the Empire's wars and managed its affairs expected

2 Howard-Johnston, Witnesses (see footnote 1 above), 436 – 445. See also G. Greatrex / S. N. C. Lieu, The Roman Eastern frontier and the Persian wars: Part II AD 363 – 630. London, 2002, 186 – 190.

3 A. Pertusi, Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi I: Panegirici epici. *Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, 7. Ettal 1959, 84 – 136. Discussion in J. Howard-Johnston, 'Heraclius' Persian campaigns and the revival of the east Roman empire, 622 – 630,' *War in History* 6/1 (1999) 1 – 44.

4 Howard-Johnston, Persian campaigns (see footnote 3 above), 39.

5 Ibid., 39 – 42.

to be paid in it.[6] With the complete loss of Syria and Egypt and the disruption of control over Asia Minor, the eastern regions' wealth was cut off from Constantinople and redirected towards Ctesiphon. The tax revenue stream, critical to any effort to rebuild the military, was broken. Heraclius had been compelled to address this existential threat first. The full scope of his efforts remains opaque, but surviving numismatic evidence indicates that something structurally significant occurred. Sometime around AD 615, Heraclius introduced a revolutionary reform of the currency, minting a new silver coin called the hexagram. The coin was as radical in its make as in its material. On it appeared symbolism and messaging seemingly unprecedented in Roman history.[7] As such, the hexagram is interesting due to a variety of peculiarities including fabric, source, and iconography. The 610s were a critical decade of Roman history for which the sources are both sparse and problematic, leading many recent works on the period to at least touch upon this source. Critically, recent commentators have overlooked or misinterpreted the Latin inscription which appears on the coin's reverse, an inscription which is unique in Roman/Byzantine numismatics.

Many commentators appear to take their cue for interpreting the appearance of the hexagram from a passage in the Armenian history attributed to Sebeos. The document dates to the third quarter of the seventh century and is one of the more reliable sources for the final Roman-Persian war despite its author's geographical removal from political centres.[8] Chapter 38 reports an attempt by Heraclius and the Roman senate to sue for peace in or around AD 615. Heraclius went so far as to offer to abdicate, allowing Khusrov the chance to appoint a new emperor of his choosing, effectively submitting Rome to become a Persian client state.[9] Although the passage has some serious chronological problems conflating events, its core seems to preserve an authentic insight into diplomatic manoeuvres in the latter half of the 610s seeking to negotiate an end to the war on terms decidedly unfavourable to the Romans.[10] As this is the historical con-

6 M. F. Hendy, Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy c. 300 – 1450. Cambridge 1985, 157 – 160; P. Grierson, Byzantine coins. London 1982, 14 – 19, 92 – 94.
7 Grierson, Coins (see footnote 6 above), 103 – 105. The principal monograph on the subject remains P. Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme: un monnayage byzantine en argent du VIIe siècle. Louvain-la-Neuve 1979.
8 R.W. Thomson with historical commentary by J. Howard-Johnston and assistance from T. Greenwood, The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos, Liverpool 1999, vol. 1, xxxviii–xxxix, lxxiv– lxxvii.
9 Sebeos Ch. 38 §122, transl. in Thomson / Howard-Johnston / Greenwood (see footnote 8 above), vol. 1, 78.
10 Thomson / Howard-Johnston / Greenwood (see footnote 8 above), vol. 2, 210 – 213.

text for the first appearance of the hexagram, Sebeos' account of Roman diplomacy has played an important role in shaping expectations when it comes to evaluating the character and message of the new currency.

Sebeos' history clearly forms the context for the passage in Walter Kaegi's 2003 volume *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium:* 'The year 615 also marked another innovation: the appearance of an important new Byzantine coin [...] which carried the inscription *Deus Adiuta Romanis* ("May God help the Romans"). Although one cannot ascribe the issuance of this coin to any particular event, this appeal for divine assistance poignantly reflected and expressed the stressful and desperate contemporary conditions and anxieties.'[11] This inscription, *Deus Adiuta Romanis*, presents an interpretive problem which has drawn the passing attention of several scholars. Peter Sarris situated the hexagram's inscription in the context of 'a religious propaganda drive [...] which played upon the spiralling apocalyptic sensibilities that were such a pronounced feature of the age.'[12] James Howard-Johnston's description emphasizes the propagandistic value of the coin's appearance: 'The coins were not simply objects of value, but conveyed a message encapsulating contemporary Roman propaganda. [...] A brief legend, also on the reverse, appealed to God for help (*Deus Adiuta Romanis*), an appeal also surely addressed to Christians everywhere.'[13] Walter Kaegi is not alone reading the coins' inscription quite literally.[14] In these passages, there is a readiness to be satisfied by explaining religious evidence in terms of theological discourse, situating the coin in a relatively limited social context. While a valid interpretation of the inscription's literal meaning, such readings miss the military context of the sign, as attested in contemporary works on strategy, mistaking for desperation what was intended to signal strength.

To contextualize how novel the hexagram was, it is worth noting that large quantities of silver coinage, in the form of the siliqua (nominally 1/96th of a pound), had been struck as recently as the end of the fourth century under the Theodosian dynasty. However the minting of silver became increasingly in-

11 Kaegi, Heraclius (see footnote 1 above), 90.

12 Sarris, Empires (see footnote 1 above), 250.

13 Howard-Johnston, Persian campaigns (see footnote 3 above), 37.

14 John Haldon made barely passing references to the hexagram in his first major work on the period. J. Haldon, Byzantium in the seventh century: the transformation of a culture, revised edition. Cambridge 1990, 119. In discussing the coin, Michael Hendy merely noted that it was an 'all too appropriate inscription.' Hendy, Monetary economy (see footnote 6 above), 494. Philip Grierson only offered a rather bland translation of the inscription, rendered as 'O God, bring help to the Romans,' without further comment. Grierson, Coins (seen footnote 6 above), 103. Panayotis Yannopoulos noted the inscription as part of the coin's reverse, but no further interpretation. Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme (see footnote 7 above), 13 f.

frequent in the fifth century, and fractional gold coinage largely came to replace silver as a middle-denomination currency in practice. By the time of Anastasius' currency reforms at the turn of the sixth century, a system based around low-denomination copper and high-denomination gold dominated. The subsequent century saw sporadic minting of silver coinage either by regional mints – particularly in Africa and Italy after their re-conquest under Justinian I in the 530s – or in rare, limited, ceremonial issues.[15] Thus the hexagram was thus the first silver currency minted by the primary imperial mint in Constantinople in large quantities in well over a century. This coin is called the hexagram on account of their weight – six *grammata* (a *gramma* being 1/24th of a Roman ounce, a little larger than the modern gram which was named for it).[16] Yannopoulos, who published an exhaustive study of the coin in 1979, argued that 'Il semble que la monnaie soit entrée rapidement dans la vie quotidienne des byzantins, qui s'en servaient pour des paiements d'une certaine importance.'[17] The hexagram was minted in relatively large quantities for a little over 60 years, until sometime around AD 680 under the reign of Constantine IV. Although revived under Justinian II and his successors, these were very limited productions. The hexagram survived as a ceremonial piece until it was last minted during the reign of Theodosius III (AD 715 – 717).[18]

The introduction and circulation of the hexagram is mentioned in a number or important Greek textual sources for this period which give prominent notices about the appearance of this new currency. The primary literary evidence for the coin's appearance and reception comes from the *Chronicon Paschale* (ends 628), which briefly notes that

> … τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει γέγονεν ἀπὸ νόμισμα ἑξάγραμμον ἀργυροῦν, καὶ βασιλικαὶ ῥόγαι δι' αὐτοῦ γεγόνασι καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος. (*Chron. Pasch.* AD 615)[19]

15 R. A. G. Carson, Coins of the Roman Empire. London and New York 1990, 158 – 159, 190 – 191, 210 – 217; Grierson, Coins (seen footnote 6 above), 1 – 5, 56 – 59.
16 Because of the discrepancy between the values of the ancient and modern unit of measure with the same name, a hexagram weighs about 7 grams (or, more precisely, 6.82 g) Grierson, Coins (see footnote 6 above), 103.
17 Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme (see footnote 7 above), 102.
18 Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme (as footnote 7 above) 44 – 53. That the hexagram stopped being minted in the 680s is no coincidence. This coincides with a peace treaty with the Caliphate on terms highly favourable to the Romans. Theophanes records in the year Anno Mundi 6169 (AD 676/7) that a treaty was signed for 'a yearly tribute of 3,000 [pieces] of gold, fifty captives, and fifty thoroughbred horses to be paid by the Hagarenes to the Roman state.' Theophanes, Chronographia, transl. C. Mango and R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284 – 813, 496.
19 Text: Chronicon Paschale, ed. L. Dindorf. Bonn 1832, 706.

> In this year [AD 615] there was made by law a six-gram silver coin, and imperial payments were made with it, and at half their old rate.[20]

Despite its apparent devaluation, the *Miracles of St. Artemios*, which depict the immediate period around the coin's first appearance, specifically mention the coin's quick adaptation into everyday private circulation.[21] Finally, the later albeit still vital *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor (ends 813) gives the following notice in AD 620/1:

> Λαβὼν δὲ τὰ τῶν εὐαγῶν οἴκων χρήματα ἐν δανείων ἀπορίᾳ κατεχόμενος, ἔλαβεν καὶ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας πολυκάνδηλά τε καὶ ἕτερα σκεύη ὑπευργικά, χαράξας νομίσματα καὶ μιλιαρίσια πάμπολλα. (Theophanes Confessor, *Chronographia*, Anno Mundi 6113)[22]

> Being short of funds [Heraclius] took on loan the moneys of religious establishments and he also took the candelabra and other vessels of the holy ministry from the Great Church, which he minted into a great quantity of *nomismata* and *miliarisia*.[23]

Mango and Scott translated νομίσματα καὶ μιλιαρίσια as 'gold and silver coinage,' expecting this to be a reference to the appearance of the hexagram.[24] An alternative translation of Theophanes' notice could simply be 'large and small denomination coinage' – a more generic, and less historically significant alternative. It appears that the liquidation of Church assets was a different event from the coin's appearance, separated by the passage of several years. This seemingly desperate financial event had no connection to the coins' iconography, which were already circulating.[25]

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20 Transl. M. Whitby and M. Whitby, Chronicon Paschale 284 – 628 AD. Liverpool 1989, 158.
21 Ed. and transl. V. S. Crisafulli / J.W. Nesbitt, The miracles of St. Artemios: a collection of miracle stories by an anonymous author of seventh century Byzantium. Leiden 1997, 116 – 118. For discussion see Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme (see footnote 7 above), 102.
22 Text: Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor. Leipzig 1883 – 85, vol. 1, 302 – 303.
23 Transl. adapted from Mango and Scott, Chronicle (see footnote 18 above), 435.
24 Mango/Scott, Chronicle (see footnote 18 above), 438 note 2. It is possible that Theophanes used μιλιαρίσια – the name for the eighth-century silver currency which eventually replaced the hexagram – anachronistically. However, the word μιλιαρίσια is attested earlier–in Justinian, *Novel* 105 and Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyry* 100 – where it seems to simply mean a small coin, so the term may have been authentic to his now-lost original source material. H. G. Liddell / R. Scott / H. S. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford 1940, 'μιλιαρήσιον'; G. H.W. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon. Oxford 1961, 'μιλιαρήσιον' 871.
25 A note of caution concerning Theophanes' dates: James Howard-Johnston found that many of Theophanes' dates for the early seventh century are untrustworthy, 'for it is clear that Theophanes allowed himself too much license to tamper with the content as well as the ordering of the material which he found in his sources.' Howard-Johnston, Witnesses (see footnote 1



Class I silver hexagram of Heraclius and his son Constantine (minted 620–38, Constantinople), showing the emperors, seated, on the obverse with the inscription 'de[u]s adiuta romanis' clearly visible surrounding the cross-on-steps of the reverse. The misspelling of the Latin on this example may be further evidence that the phrase derived from oral rather than written culture. Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

The coins are replete with Christian symbolism. As is normal on contemporary Roman currency, a portrait of the reigning emperor(s), initially Heraclius and his eldest son Constantine, dominates the obverse. They stand in ceremonial robes, both holding a globus cruciger in their right hands, wearing cross-topped diadems on their heads, with a fifth cross hovering in the space between them. Around them a formulaic inscription – in Latin with some Greek characters mixed in – identifies them by name and rank. On the reverse, a cross-on-steps dominates, a decorative motif which had previously appeared on a limited number of gold solidi. Mint marks appear on this side in some examples, but otherwise the only other decoration on the reverse is the novel declaration – in Latin – *Deus Adiuta Romanis*.[26] Grammatically, Deus is in the vocative, Adiuta is in the

above), 284. Theophanes' date of 620/1 for the church loans–an otherwise unattested event–finds support from a few observations. Both the initial minting of the hexagram and the taking-on of loans would have provided separate short-term solutions to problems of fiscal liquidity. It seems unlikely that both measures would have been required at the same moment in 615. Furthermore, the progress of the war between 615 and 620/1 suggests that later date would have been a likely point when precious metals for minting were in short supply, after the tax revenue from Egypt was lost to Constantinople and after the unsuccessful attempt to negotiate an end to the conflict.

26 The verb *adiuto* typically takes an accusative. Use of *adiuto* with the dative of person is attested infrequently. The structure of the inscription may have been influenced by Greek, as βοηθέω (which is noted in the TLL Online as a common gloss for *adiuto*) requires a dative. My thanks to Albrecht Berger for raising the point; TLL Online, Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Berlin 2006, 'adiūto'. A few other sources suggest that the verb βοηθέω – rather than a synonym

present active imperative, whilst Romanis is in the dative; the whole is best translated as 'God, help the Romans.' Kaegi and others have desperation in mind when commenting on the coin's plaintive and distressed messaging, but it should be noted that this short inscription could alternatively be read as a statement of defiance and pride in both the empire and the religion.

The foremost of the Roman state's obligations were, of course, the salaries of the beleaguered armed forces. While some salaries appear to have been paid in this currency, at least in the first years of its issuance, evidence from archaeological finds indicates that these coins were principally circulated as payment to the army and the foreign allies who came to its aid. Very few examples of the coin, either alone or in hoards, have been unearthed from within the then-Roman territories. Instead, the great majority of hoards containing hexagrams have been found beyond the empire's frontiers, across the Balkans, the steppes, and Transcaucasia. In spite of the limited body of evidence, Florin Curta has argued that Heraclius' 'hexagrams seem to have been coins specifically struck for paying mercenaries recruited for his Persian campaigns.'[27] The coins were heavy for their nominal value, raising questions about their intended purpose and circulation, and possibly helping to explain the relatively short period in which they were minted.[28]

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such as ὠφελέω – appears to have culturally resonated with ideas of divine assistance and military contexts. For example, this is the root used in the Septuagint to describe God's assistance, particularly connected with military or otherwise potentially violent situations, cf. Genesis 49.25 'Καὶ ἐβοήθησέ σοι ὁ Θεὸς', Exodus 18.4 ' ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μοῦ βοήθος μου', or Psalms 53.4 'ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς βοηθεῖ μοι.' In addition, several lead seals held by Dumbarton Oaks attests to the common use of the verb βοηθέω from the sixth/seventh century onward to request divine help and protection. Dumbarton Oaks, Online Catalog of Byzantine Seals. Washington DC 2017. On translating the phrase, see also D. Woods, review of W. E. Kaegi, Muslim expansion and Byzantine collapse in North Africa. Bryn Mawr 2011. http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2011/2011–08–10 [accessed 19 November 2018].

27 F. Curta, Byzantium in Dark-Age Greece (the numismatic evidence in its Balkan context). *BMGS* 29.2 (2005) 113–146, esp. 118. Significant hoards containing hexagrams include one in Siberia containing 264 coins of Heraclius, found in 1850, and two found in Dvin, Armenia in 1947 and 1955, containing 115 and 169 coins respectively, of which the latter included 98 hexagrams. Smaller hoards have been found in the Balkans, particularly in Romania (a region which was just beyond the imperial frontiers in this period), but an almost total absence of hoards from within imperial territories themselves. Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme (see footnote 7 above), 102–108.

28 The nominal valuation for Roman coinage in the early seventh century is as follows: 1 solidus [Au] = 2 semisses [Au] = 3 tremisses [Au] = 6 demi-tremisses [Au] = 12 hexagrams [Ag] = 360 folles [Cu]. Yannopoulos, L'hexagramme (see footnote 7 above), 94. Despite these nominal relationships, the actual relative values of gold, silver and copper could and did fluctuate significantly, probably contributing to its disappearance within a little more than half a century.

The literature of the early medieval Roman army, specifically the *Strategikon* attributed to Emperor Maurice (582 – 602), provides the social and cultural context which has been missing from previous explanations of the inscriptions on Heraclius' hexagram. The text was a product of the late sixth century, and as such can be looked upon as a source for practices, traditions, and rituals which predate the reign of Heraclius and the final Roman-Persian War. Despite the attribution, the emperor himself was certainly not the author in any practical sense, and so the author will here be designated as (Pseudo-)Maurice.[29] Dennis, who helped edit the text and produced an English translation, observed that, 'While certainly an educated man, he uses common, everyday words and military terms, even slang … [he] knows and cites military law, and he refers to historical precedents.'[30] The work is extremely pragmatic, with minimal literary embellishment: according to the apparatus criticus accompanying the German edition, the Bible is never referenced, while Homer is only overtly referenced once.[31] The author, whom we shall identify as (Pseudo-)Maurice in order to dis-

Hendy, Monetary economy (see footnote 6 above), 495 and 278 for possible parallels with the fifth century. Emperor Leo III eventually introduced a new middle-denomination silver coin, called the miliaresion, which at least initially maintained the same nominal value as the hexagram, at 1 : 12 with the gold solidus, but contained only 2 – 3 g silver in weight, thus giving the coin a much higher fiduciary value than the hexagram. It lasted considerably longer than the Heraclian coin, surviving almost 300 years in circulation. Hendy, Monetary economy (see footnote 6 above), 504 – 506; Grierson, Coins (seen footnote 6 above), 160 f, 180 f, 200 – 203.

29 The *Strategikon* is dated to 'the latter part of the reign of Maurice (after 592) or during that of Phokas (before 610)' based on several key pieces of internal evidence. Three events are mentioned in the text are known from external sources and provide a terminus post quem of the early 590s: the siege of Aqbas in 583; Persians poisoning horse feed in 591; and a confrontation with the Avars at Heracleia in 592. A few features support a terminus ante quem for the document of the first decade of the seventh century: the repeated mention of the Antes, a tribe who disappear from other records after 601; and the use of formula 'Holy Trinity, our God and Savior,' a formula regularly found at the start of imperial documents before 605 but not after. The evidence strongly supports the conclusion that the text of the *Strategikon* was completed before the start of Heraclius' reign in 610, and thus reflects military practices already in place by that time. G.T. Dennis, Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine military strategy. Philadelphia 1984, xvi. For discussion of the author's identity, see xvi-xvii.

30 Dennis, Handbook (see footnote 29 above), xv.

31 … τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ μιμησάμενοι· ῥεῖα δὲ κ' ἀκμῆτες κεκμηότας ἄνδρας ἀϋτῇ | ὤσειαν προτὶ ἄστυ. (Pseudo-Maurice, Strategikon VIII.2.82.) 'Recalling the words of the Poet, "You who are not tired could easily drive men weary with battle back toward the city [*Iliad* 11.802 – 803; 16.44 – 45]." Text: G.T. Dennis / E. Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon des Maurikios. Vienna 1981, 294; transl. Dennis, Handbook (see footnote 29 above), 90.

tinguish him from the emperor, was also a Christian.[32] Despite the dearth of literary or learned Christian references, numerous references to Christian practices can be found in the handbook, especially prayers. When encamped, for example, (Pseudo-)Maurice suggests that the soldiers should chant the 'Trisagion' to accompany their evening meal.[33] Thus the author belonged to and wrote for a class characterized by: modest attainments in literacy; little more than a passing familiarity with Latin (as Latin commands needed to be explained in Greek); and a Christian faith characterized by ritual practice rather than the complex doctrine which the church fathers wrote. These facts give us some insight into the background and culture of the officers who, in the late 610s, suddenly found themselves drawing their salary in this new currency.

The author of the *Strategikon* takes a fairly dim view concerning the use of battle-cries, even Christian ones. (Pseudo-)Maurice noted that the συνήθειαν 'customary' battle-cry of the 'Nobiscum' could unsettle discipline and control when it is needed most.

> Ἀλλὰ δεῖ μὲν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι ἐν ἐκείνῃ μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, πρίν ἤ τινα τῆς πόρτας ἐξελθεῖν, διά τε τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον ἐπιμόνως ἅμα πάντας λέγειν, εἶτα διὰ τὸ αἴσιον καὶ τὸ νοβισκοὺμ δέους τρίτον ἕκαστον μέρος ἐξερχόμενον τοῦ φοσσάτου. (Pseudo-Maurice, *Strategikon* § II.18.13–21)[34]
>
> Instead of the shout, prayers should be said in camp on the actual day of battle before anyone goes out the gate. All, led by the priests, the general, and the other officers, should recite the *Kyrie eleison* for some time in unison. Then, in hopes of success, each meros should shout the *Nobiscum Deus* three times as it marches out of camp.[35]

However, when closing with the enemy, a sort of 'ready-check' was recommended and recognized to be a useful practice:

32 This is made clear in the work's opening, where the author asks for the guidance and support of ἡ παναγία Τριάς and δεσποίνης ἡμῶν ἀχράντου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Θεοτόκου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ὅτι εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. (Pseudo-Maurice, Preface 1–9) – 'The all-holy Trinity' and 'our Lady, the immaculate, ever-virgin Mother of God, Mary, and all the saints, for blessed is out God for never-ending ages of ages'; Dennis/Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon (see footnote 31 above), 68; transl. Dennis, Handbook (see footnote 28 above), 8.

33 Pseudo-Maurice, §12.B.22, text: Dennis/Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon (see footnote 29 above), 474; transl. Dennis, Handbook (see footnote 29 above), 159.

34 Dennis/Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon (see footnote 31 above), 138.

35 Transl. Dennis, Handbook (see footnote 29 above), 33 f.

> Ὅταν πυκνωθείσης τῆς παρατάξεως κατὰ λόγον ἀπὸ ἑνὸς σαγιττοβόλου γένηται τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μέλλει πάντως ἡ συμβολὴ συνάπτεσθαι, παραγγέλλει· παρατι. Καὶ ἄλλου διαδεχομένου καὶ κράζοντος· αδιουτα. Καὶ πάντων ἀποκρινομένων ὁμοῦ, ἴσως καὶ συμφώνως· δεους. (Pseudo-Maurice, *Strategikon* § XII B.16.39 – 42)[36]

> When ranks have been properly closed, and the line is about one bowshot from the enemy, and the fighting is just about to being, the command is given: 'Ready' [*parati*]. Right after this another officer shouts: 'Help us' [*adiouta*]. In unison everyone responds loudly and clearly, 'O God' [*deous*].[37]

Except for the reversal of order, this is clearly the same prayer as given on the coin. It is a prayer, but the context is popular use in the military rather than the high rites of the church. For new recruits, including the allied mercenaries who helped Heraclius win the Persian War, the *Adiuta Deus* would have been one of many tools used to foster *esprit de corps* and identification with the Roman cause. This was not some desperate plea, but what was shouted defiantly on battlefields when Roman armies faced their enemies.[38]

In a world without mass communication, coins were not just a fiscal tool but a form mass-manufactured portable propaganda which would make its way into every purse. They provided a widespread, albeit finite, symbolic space for the state to spread a message. In this case specifically, (Pseudo-)Maurice was personally familiar with the practical rituals of the Roman army around or shortly before the turn of the seventh century and sought to shape it via this manual. The *Strategikon* and the hexagram together attest to an authentic ritual activity surrounding the phrase *Adiuta Deus* which was specific to the Roman army in the reign of Heraclius.

It needs to be emphasized what kind of reform this coin represented, and well as what it was not. The appearance of the hexagram did not coincide with any major changes in either the gold or copper coinage – Heraclius did in fact carry out a reform of the copper coinage and reorganization of the imperial mints, but over a decade after the introduction of the silver hexagram, in 629/30 once the war with Persia was won.[39] The introduction of the new coin coincided with literary notices discussed above. Taken together, these notices are indicative of a series of shifts by the state to exploit previously-untapped revenue models and sources. These pieces of evidence point to the hexagram being a rel-

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36 Dennis/Gamillscheg, Das Strategikon (see footnote 31 above), 442.
37 Transl. Dennis, Handbook (see footnote 29 above), 146 f.
38 Historians including Yannopoulos, Curta and Sarris have already presented coherent arguments in favour of the military context for the coin's issue and circulation.
39 Grierson, Coins (seen footnote 6 above), 106 f.

atively modest fiscal reform, effectively tightening belts in the midst of war.[40] The evidence does not point to a fundamental structural change to the imperial administration at this time. Although eventually the 'late Roman' systems of governance which characterized the fifth and sixth centuries would evolve into something – usually called the 'Theme system' – characterized by a closer integration between military and fiscal bureaucracies, the fiscal reforms of the 610s were not that moment.[41]

Heraclius' silver hexagram, particularly its first appearance in circa 615, contained symbolism and messaging meant to bolster Roman morale and signal defiance at a difficult moment in the empire's history, not to signal defeatism and apathy as they have sometimes been misinterpreted. The administrative history of the coin and the distributions of its finds strongly associate it with the army. In addition, the inscription on the reverse, *Deus Adiuta Romanis*, bore an unmistakable resemblance to the battle-cry, *Adiuta Deus!*, attested in a contemporary military manual, the *Strategikon* attributed to the Roman Emperor Maurice. Re-evaluating this messaging casts greater nuance on how we should imagine the Roman war effort in the critical years of latter 610s. When events seemed to be going so badly, the empire mixed economic experimentation, Christian imagery and boldly defiant messaging, adapted from military usage, to build the funds for a recruitment drive which would ultimately turn the course of the war around.

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40 In Egypt, where papyri provide written fiscal documentation for the period, the Roman taxation system clearly continued to operate functionally unchanged throughout the invasions of the early seventh century. M. Whittow, The making of Byzantium, 600 – 1025. Berkeley / Los Angeles, CA 1996, 76 note 13.

41 Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon conducted an exhaustive survey of evidence for administrative change from the reign of Heraclius to Michael III, ultimately arguing for a relatively late date for the emergence of the 'Theme system.' L. Brubaker / J. Haldon, Byzantium in the Iconoclast era: c. 680 – 850. Cambridge 2011, 655 – 722.

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II. ABTEILUNG

Christoph BEGASS, Die Senatsaristokratie des oströmischen Reiches, ca. 457–518. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. *Vestigia*, 71. München, C. H. Beck 2018. 574 S. ISBN 978-3-406-71632-4.

Der jüngste Band in der angesehenen *Vestigia*-Reihe der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in München enthält eine bei Mischa Meier entstandene und im Wintersemester 2014/15 vorgelegte Tübinger Dissertation, die zu weiten Teilen 2011 bis 2014 am Tübinger Sonderforschungsbereich „Bedrohte Ordnungen" verfasst worden ist. Sie hat 2015 den Preis der Antonie-Wlosok-Stiftung zur Förderung der Wissenschaft an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz auf dem Gebiet der Spätantike und 2016 den von der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften verliehenen Walter-Witzenmann-Preis erhalten.

Kern des von Isabelle MOSSONG redaktionell betreuten Buches bildet eine Prosopographie der oströmischen Senatsaristokratie in der Zeit der Kaiser Leo I. (457–474) bis Anastasios I. (491–518). Sie umfasst 248 Personen. 223 von ihnen gehörten zur Rangklasse der *illustres*. Auf *illustres* konzentriert sich BEGASS. Seit der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts war die Zugehörigkeit zu dieser höchsten Rangklasse des *ordo amplissimus* in der Tat immer wichtiger geworden. Die Konzentration auf sie im Hinblick auf sozial- und strukturgeschichtliche Folgerungen, wie sie Begass dann gibt, ist indes problematisch und führt in Aporien. Es ist nicht einmal sicher, ob die folgende Aussage stimmt: „Mit der Berufung auf ein illustres Amt durch den Kaiser erhielt der so Ausgezeichnete Sitz und Stimme im Senat" (S. 44). Es sind immer wieder Angehörige des *ordo amplissimus* aktiv gewesen, die nicht *illustres* gewesen sind. Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchungen war insbesondere der zweite Band der *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (*PLRE* II) von John R. MARTINDALE (1980). Die Gestaltung der Artikel orientiert sich an der *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Sie sind zum Lesen verfasst und behandeln Ämter und Funktionen, Titel, Familie sowie Vita und Laufbahn. Quellen und Literatur sind eingearbeitet, Belege finden sich in den Fußnoten. Bei einigen Einträgen werden problematische Quellenbelege am Ende eigens diskutiert. Sowohl was die Auswertung der Forschung wie der Quellen (darunter vieler neuer Zeugnisse) angeht, hat BEGASS eine immense Arbeit geleistet. Ausführliche Indices erschließen das Werk.

Die *PLRE* wird man gleichwohl weiter benutzen, ebenso auch die zur Verfügung stehenden Wikipedia-Artikel, von denen in der Forschung – und so auch hier

– nie die Rede ist. Hier erhält man Überblick, und eher weniger in diesem Werk, das beansprucht, auf Grund erstmaliger systematischer Untersuchung Antworten auf zentrale Fragen geben zu können und sowohl das Verhältnis der Kaiser zur Senatsaristokratie wie auch die Struktur dieser Reichselite erklären zu können. Weil die Prosopographie auf die *illustres* der Senatsaristokratie in der gewählten Zeit ausgerichtet ist, wurde nämlich auf die Aufnahmen von Lemmata zu Kaisern und Kaiserinnen (sie spielen in dieser Zeit eine besondere Rolle im Verhältnis zur Senatsaristokratie, zu Verina zum Beispiel v. a. S. 290–296, 307–309) verzichtet. Einflussreiche und hochrangige Persönlichkeiten aus dem Westen fehlen aus den gleichen Gründen, auch wenn sie im Osten agiert haben, ja sogar Stellungen erhalten haben, die für die Senatsaristokratie wichtig waren. Anicius Olybrius, der Vater der Anicia Iuliana, Westkaiser im Jahre 472, finden wir 464 als posterioren Konsul des Ostens (zu ihm v.a. S. 353–361). Patricius war er auch. Der so einflussreiche Aspar wird zwar vielfach erwähnt, doch hat er kein eigenes Lemma. Das gilt gleichfalls etwa auch für Theoderich Strabo (zu ihm v.a. S. 292–294), der sein Erbe beanspruchte und gleichfalls eine zentrale Gestalt der Eliten jener Zeit war und in den Fasten der Heermeister zu finden ist. Für Ausführungen zum Grammatiker Priscian, den Verfasser unter anderem eines Panegyricus zu Anastasius, in dem sich teilweise senatorische Auffassungen spiegeln, greift man wieder zur PLRE oder zu Robert A. Kasters *Guardians of Language* (denn Priscian gehörte nicht zur höchsten Rangklasse). Für hochrangige Kleriker wird auf den dritten Band der *Prosopographie chrétienne* von Sylvain Destephen (2008) für die Diözese Asien verwiesen. Was die Panegyriker Priskian und Prokop zum Verhältnis Kaiser – Senat sagen, ist nicht behandelt. Stemmata fehlen. Beigeben sind die Fasti der illustren Ämter und Titel, ohne Konsuln und nicht aller Titel und ohne eine Liste der Frauen, sowie eine Übersicht der 48 Personen, die in der *PLRE* fehlen, wobei auch ohne diese Personen das Bild der Struktur der Senatsaristokratie eigentlich das Gleiche bleibt. Für dieses Bild von Bedeutung wären indes auch manche rangtiefere Ämter sowie etwa auch Regelungen für Hofämter.

Gerne würde man wissen, ob sich die sogenannte Senatsaristokratie auch selbst zu strukturieren vermochte: Die Frage taucht unter anderem dort auf, wo die Stellung eines *caput senatus* (beziehungsweise eines „Ersten" des Senats, S. 105) erwähnt wird. Erschwerend für das Verständnis ist die Verteilung der Informationen auf den Katalog und den Auswertungsteil. Angaben, welche die Laufbahn von Personen vor und nach dem behandelten Zeitraum angehen, sind verschiedentlich nicht aufgenommen oder nur kurz skizziert (so bei Zeno [S. 248]); zuweilen wird mit ihnen außerhalb des Katalogs (wo sie korrekterweise fehlen) argumentiert, als hätten sie ihren Rang im behandelten Zeitraum erhalten (so beim angeblichen Prätorianerpräfekten ehrenhalber und *patricius* Eulogius). Nicht zuletzt weil ein wichtiges Kriterium für die Erstellung der Prosopographie die

Rangstufen sind, fragt man sich hie und da, wie genau sie verwendet wurden und inwiefern die Eliten denn effektiv mit ihnen in Erscheinung getreten sind beziehungsweise wie und wie genau sie mit ihren Titeln wahrgenommen worden sind, so demjenigen eines *patricius* oder einer *patricia* in den hagiographischen Quellen und den *Patria Konstantinupoleos*. Auch bei Consulardiptychen stellt sich dieses Problem. Flavius Areobindus gilt dort immer als *illustris*, aber weitere Titel werden zuweilen nicht wiedergegeben. Sein Patriziat können wir allein dadurch vermuten, dass seine Frau Anicia Iuliana Patrizierin war (367 f.). Im Patriziat macht Begass einen Kern der Senatsaristokratie aus, die der Kaiser mit dieser Ehrenstellung besonders stark an sich binden wollte. Beim Herrscher wiederum muss gefragt werden, ob er sich selbst nicht auch dem höchsten Stand zurechnete und diesen mit den Senatoren ähnlich teilte wie das Konsulat.

Was die Senatsaristokratie des oströmischen Reiches denn sei und wie ihr Verhältnis zu weiteren Eliten darzustellen sei, ist jedenfalls eine diffizile Aufgabe. Vererbbar war allein der Clarissimat. Immer wieder hat man versucht, der Schwierigkeiten mit Hilfe moderner generalisierender Begriffe Herr zu werden: Begass hebt den Unterschied zwischen einem erblichen sozialen Stand und eigentlichen Führungsschichten, den Funktionseliten, hervor. Zu einer Funktionselite wurde auch die Senatsaristokratie. Doch sie hatte Konkurrenz, so am Hof, im Militär, in der Kirche, bei regionalen Eliten und bei Eliten der *gentes*, wobei sich alle diese Eliten immer wieder überschneiden und durchdringen. Doch die Vorstellung einer Senatsaristokratie als mit dem Kaiser zusammen wirkende Reichsaristokratie blieb wichtig. Offenkundig haben die Kaiser durch die Vergabe von Titeln und die Nachfrage und Konkurrenz nach solchen Titeln zu bestimmen versucht, was Aristokratie im Sinne einer Reichsaristokratie ausmachte. Dass der Senat als Versammlung dabei nur eine kleine Rolle spielte, ist klar. Dennoch blieb er in Konstantinopel präsent, auch mit zwei Amtsgebäuden, wie die frühbyzantinischen Quellen sagen. Noch immer spielte das Eintrittsamt der Prätur eine symbolische Rolle. Im Zeremoniell taucht der Senat immer wieder auf. Er wirkte als legitimierende und beratende Instanz und hatte in der Appellations- und Hochgerichtsbarkeit zuweilen nach wie vor eine Funktion. Die Dinge waren indes im Fluss. Die Reformierung der Senatsaristokratie ist ein Prozess, der lange vor dem Untersuchungszeitraum begonnen hat und über ihn hinaus fortgeführt wurde. Anlass zu Reformen in diesen Jahrzehnten haben vielleicht auch Bedrohungen durch Umsturzversuche gegeben.

Es gibt in der Tat wenige Darstellungen des oströmischen Senats, und gerade des Senats in dieser Zeit. Die Wurzeln der Einrichtung liegen in Rom, und die Schaffung eines zweiten Senats in Konstantinopel hat eine Einrichtung entstehen lassen, die sich von derjenigen im Westen stark unterscheidet. Darstellungen, welche den Senat im Westen behandeln, haben immerhin häufig auch dem Senat

im Osten Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt und von der Sache her schenken müssen, das gilt schon für den nach wie vor erwähnenswerten Charles Lécrivain (1888), danach für Arnold Hugh Martin Jones oder André Chastagnol, eine Reihe bemerkenswerter Studien italienischer Romanisten (Stefano Giglio 1990, Paolo Garbarino 1988 und 1992 zur Novelle 62, Paolo Vincenti 1992) und nun die ausführlichen Kommentare zu den *Variae* Cassiodors (in diesem Zusammenhang Adolfo La Rocca und Fabrizio Oppedisano 2016 zum ostgotischen Senat) sowie etwa auch Chris Wickham (2005). Dieser Sachverhalt ist ja auch bei der *PLRE* offenkundig. Das bis in die Moderne reichende dreibändige Werk *Il Senato nella storia* (1997–1998) bietet zwei Beiträge, welche der italienische Byzantinist Filippo Burgarella (1948–2017) beigesteuert hat. Begass würdigt in seinem Forschungsüberblick zu Recht wenigstens die schlanke Dissertation von Otto Adolf Elissen aus dem Jahr 1881, eine souveräne Skizze Hans Georg Becks (1964), ein Buch von Franz Tinnefeld über die frühbyzantinische Gesellschaft (1974) sowie Gilbert Dagrons Ausführungen in seinem meisterhaften Werk *Naissance d'une capitale* (1974) (S. 6–14).

Begass setzt ein mit dem faszinierenden Dialog *Die politische Wissenschaft*, in der ein anonymer Autor in Anknüpfung an platonische Philosophie unter anderem – wir haben nicht den ganzen Text – Militär und Staatswesen behandelt. Für das Verständnis dieses Textes stünden auch Rechtstexte und Ausführungen bei Johannes Lydos und Prokop zur Verfügung (sie werden an anderer Stelle hinzugezogen) – frühere Verhältnisse kommen bei ihnen verschiedentlich zur Sprache. Ein zentrales Thema ist das Verhältnis der Kaiser zu den Amtsinhabern, ein Grundthema der Römischen Geschichte, das sich in diesen Jahren einmal mehr unter anderem so stellt, dass die Eliten Usurpatoren erhoben haben. Dass dies freilich vom Senat als Versammlung ausgegangen wäre, scheint nicht der Fall zu sein.

Was haben die Kaiser gemacht, um die Eliten zu regulieren und zu kontrollieren? Und welcher Zeitraum ist zu beobachten? Wäre vielleicht schon mit Theodosius II. (408–450) oder Marcian (450–457) einzusetzen? Zum einen gibt es von ihnen Gesetze, welche für die Senatsaristokratie wichtig waren, zum anderen gab es auch damals Usurpationen, freilich im Westen, aber das Phänomen war für den Osten durchaus von Bedeutung. Und wann ist zu enden? Begass beginnt wie gesagt mit Leo I. und sieht einen Endpunkt in der Novelle 62 Justinians, ohne freilich ausführlich auf diese und noch spätere Entwicklungen einzugehen. Eine zentrale Beobachtung seiner Studie, nämlich, dass die Kaiser – einmal mehr – versuchten, eine Funktionselite zu formen, die von ihnen abhängig war, könnte für die Zeit Justinians weitaus klarer aufgezeigt werden.

Begass untersucht in vier Fallstudien aristokratische Familien und ihr politisches Verhalten. Der Senat als Versammlung spielt dabei kaum eine Rolle. Eine

„innere Verfasstheit der Senatsaristokratie“ (S. 278) tritt nicht wirklich zu Tage, allenfalls eine „Heterogenität“ (S. 286), und es entsteht der Eindruck, dass die Zugehörigkeit zur sogenannten Senatsaristokratie und zum Senat für die „senatorischen“ Akteure zumeist eine untergeordnete Rolle spielte und nur sehr locker etwas einheitlich Bestimmbares wäre, außer wohl, wenn es um Forderungen wie die nach Besitz, Einfluss, Karrieren, Macht, Privilegien und Rechtsgarantien ging. Die erste Studie gilt Fl. Illus und seinem Umfeld. Illus und seine Brüder haben im Militär Karriere gemacht und mit Hilfe der kriegerischen Isaurier und besten Verbindungen zur kaiserlichen Dynastie vom Süden Kleinasiens her Druck gemacht, und zwar gerade auch gegen den Isaurier Zenon, dessen Regierungszeit von 476 bis 491 von Bürgerkrieg und drei Usurpationen erschüttert wurde. Man sollte Ilus indes nicht mit der Senatsaristokratie in eins setzen. Überdies vernebelt die Aussage, die Usurpatoren der Zeit seien alle aus der Senatsaristokratie gekommen (vgl. etwa S. 4 und S. 480), die Tatsache, dass regelmäßig Angehörige des Kaiserhauses bei Staatsstreichen eine Rolle spielten. Die Suggestion, von der Senatsaristokratie sei eine ständige Bedrohung ausgegangen, was nach kaiserlichen Reformen gerufen habe, vermag hier wie auch im Folgenden nicht zu überzeugen. Die aus der munizipalen Aristokratie von Oxyrhynchus aufgestiegenen berühmten Apionen sind durch neue Quellen noch besser bekannt geworden. Angehörige der Familie gelangten an die Spitze der Senatsaristokratie, ohne aber nach dem Purpur zu greifen. Zwei weitere Fallstudien gelten Familien in Konstantinopel mit Einfluss im Westen, nämlich den *Anthemii*, zu denen auch ein Westkaiser zählt, sowie vor allem Areobindus und seiner Frau Anicia Iuliana, einer Angehörigen der traditionsreichsten senatorischen Familie überhaupt, die indes zur Hauptsache im Westen verwurzelt war. Anicius Olybrius, ihr Vater, war 472 Kaiser im Westen geworden. Als ihr Mann Areobindus während des *Staurotheis*-Aufstandes von 512 von den Orthodoxen zum Gegenkaiser ausgerufen wurde, floh er kopfüber. Bald setzte sich der General Vitalian an die Spitze des Aufstandes gegen Anastasios, hinter dem wiederum keine Senatsaristokratie als Strippenzieherin steht.

Auch im Kapitel über „die Sozialstruktur“ zeigt sich, dass die Bedeutung der Zugehörigkeit zu Senat und Senatsaristokratie weiter zurückgegangen ist. Es gelang Senatoren nicht mehr, Verwandte und Schützlinge in den Senat zu holen (S. 398). Bei den Karrieren spielten Herkunft, Ausbildung und Konfession beziehungsweise die Ausübung traditioneller Kulte und Riten eine Rolle. BEGASS behandelt auch die kaiserliche „Vergabepraxis“ (zahlreiche und rasche Neubesetzungen, bessere Aufstiegschancen für Senatoren als für Militärs, weil rund zehn zivile Ämter den Zugang zum Kreis der *illustres* ermöglichten), die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen sowie die „Selbstdarstellung“ in Poesie und Propaganda; einem wichtigen Thema, bei dem ein Grundproblem darin besteht, dass wir es mit einem allgemeinen Teil der Kultur, aber per se nicht mit einer Darstellung einer Zuge-

hörigkeit zur Senatsaristokratie zu tun haben, auch wenn der irreführende Begriff der „Selbstdarstellung" geläufig geworden ist.

Die Reformen unter Zeno und Anastasius (man könnte durchaus auch schon Theodosius und Markian nennen) seien durch Justinian fortgesetzt worden und hätten der Konsolidierung des Imperiums genützt, allerdings auf Kosten des Einflusses des Senatorenstandes (S. 485). Man könnte vielleicht anfügen, dass weitere gesellschaftliche Schichten auch zu zahlen hatten. Und zu fragen wäre nach Gewinnern, die es gleichfalls gab, auch unter den Eliten. Begass scheint anzudeuten, dass sie unter anderem am Hof zu finden sind. Aber trotz aller Erfolge der prosopographischen Forschung, wie sie gerade auch dieses Buch fortsetzt, wissen wir über viele Angehörige der Senatsaristokratie in dieser Zeit zu wenig oder sogar nichts.

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Armin E. Bergmeier, Visionserwartung. Visualisierung und Präsenzerfahrung des Göttlichen in der Spätantike. *Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Reihe B, Studien und Perspektiven*, 43. Wiesbaden, Reichert 2017. ISBN 978–3954–90117–3.

Comme son titre l'indique, ce livre, issu d'une thèse, est consacré aux manifestations visibles de la divinité et à la manière de les représenter. C'est dans le contexte du christianisme que Bergmeier pose cette problématique, mais une grande partie du premier chapitre est consacrée au monde gréco-romain et à la tradition juive, ce qui justifie sans doute que le titre ne fasse pas directement allusion au christianisme. Ce premier chapitre est précédé d'une introduction, p. 11–22, qui expose la problématique et fait le point des recherches antérieures sur elle. Il insiste sur l'originalité du christianisme, qui me paraît due surtout à l'insistance chrétienne sur l'invisibilité de Dieu, ce qui a contraint à inventer des solutions en accord avec les habitudes du monde où le christianisme se développait, tout en évitant de contredire la doctrine chrétienne. L'auteur insiste sur un désir de voir le divin qui se développe dans l'antiquité tardive. Je mettrais davantage l'accent sur l'opposition qui se crée entre un monde rempli d'images et habitué à celles-ci et l'idée d'une invisibilité du divin qui s'est aussi développée en-dehors du christianisme.

Dans un premier chapitre intitulé «Attente de visions», l'auteur fait le point sur les théophanies ou les épiphanies divines dans le monde gréco-romain et

dans la tradition juive. Il considère, p. 33, que les statues des dieux sont systématiquement considérées comme un lieu où le dieu était ou pouvait être présent. Cette idée est peut-être à nuancer. La plus longue partie de ce chapitre (p. 46–70) est consacrée aux textes qui parlent de théophanies, de visions, y compris les visions de saints. De manière bienvenue, il intègre à ces pages une discussion sur les débats dans l'antiquité tardive sur la possibilité pour les saints d'apparaître et d'agir après leur mort (p. 61–64).

Le chapitre II, qui est le plus long du livre (p. 71–179) et divisé en plusieurs parties, est intitulé «Formes de la visualisation». L'auteur passe de la question des manifestations visibles du divin, telles qu'elles sont relatées dans les textes, à la manière de les représenter. Il s'interroge d'abord sur le «supposé aniconisme du christianisme ancien» (p. 72–86). C'est un thème qui a déjà été débattu et qui a été largement traité par P.C. Finney, d'ailleurs cité par Bergmeier. Cette partie comporte aussi quelques pages sur les tentatives pour accéder à une représentation du divin («se faire une image» – *sich ein Bild machen* – p. 75–86). Ces pages sont en grande partie consacrées au développement de l'image du Bon Pasteur dans le contexte chrétien. Il conclut que, dans les images chrétiennes du IIIe et du début du IVe siècle, on ne voit pas « de tendances à mettre en images des apparitions de Dieu » (p. 84). Cette conclusion, qui n'est pas vraiment neuve, est en soi juste. Il aurait pourtant été intéressant de signaler les tentatives, qui n'ont pas eu de succès, de représenter Dieu en particulier sur quelques sarcophages (par exemple, les deux sarcophages dits «dogmatiques») dans des représentations de la Création ou dans les offrandes de Caïn et d'Abel. Il est vrai que ces images n'entrent pas directement dans la problématique, car il ne s'agit pas de théophanies, mais leur mention aurait été intéressante.

La longue partie suivante (II.2, p. 86–125) est intitulée «stratégies antiques des images de divinisation» – *Antike Bildstrategien der Divinisierung*. Ce titre est un peu ambigu, car il est aussi largement consacré aux stratégies chrétiennes. L'auteur passe rapidement sur la fin de l'adoration des statues et sur le fait que c'est seulement au concile de Nicée que le statut divin du Christ aurait été pleinement reconnu (mais il me semble qu'il simplifie ainsi l'aspect théologique du débat entre ariens et non-ariens). Il essaie ensuite de montrer dans quelle mesure les théophanies chrétiennes sont en continuité ou en rupture avec les théophanies antiques. Il se sert en particulier de l'abside de la salle de Louxor dévolue au culte impérial pour suggérer un parallélisme entre les mises en scène antiques et chrétiennes des théophanies. Quelques pages sont spécifiquement consacrées au Christ trônant au milieu des apôtres. Au passage, l'auteur fait un rapprochement inattendu et qui ne me semble pas s'imposer entre le fragment polychrome conservé au Musée des Thermes et une face du grand sarcophage de Milan: il considère que, dans chaque cas, les apôtres sont représentés en audi-

teurs. Mais, d'habitude, on ne considère pas le groupe des auditeurs vus de dos sur cette plaque comme des apôtres et il me paraît difficile de traiter le Christ trônant au milieu des apôtres sur le sarcophage de Milan autrement que les scènes analogues. Il conclut que ces images dérivent d'images de l'assemblée des dieux et que c'est bien un Christ divin qui est représenté, même si, dans un partie d'entre elles, aucun attribut ne distingue ce Christ-Dieu d'une représentation du Christ historique. Si l'auteur insiste pour proposer comme origine de la scène, l'assemblée des dieux plutôt que le modèle du philosophe entouré de ses disciples, généralement proposé, c'est sans doute parce qu'il pense fortifier ainsi sa conclusion. Je ne peux qu'être d'accord avec celle-ci puisqu'elle rejoint ce que j'avais proposé de manière plus nuancée (J.-M. Spieser, Images du Christ…, 2015, p. 294–308). Mais cette interprétation ne me semble pas impliquer que l'origine de ce schéma iconographique se trouve uniquement dans l'assemblée des dieux, même si celle-ci a aussi pu jouer un rôle. Il faut le répéter: des schémas iconographiques peuvent se transmettre tout en changeant de signification.

La suite de cette partie, p. 108–125, est encore consacrée aux différentes stratégies iconographiques et aux attributs qui, dans les images non chrétiennes comme chrétiennes, permettent de montrer le caractère divin de la personne représentée. De manière intéressante et qui me paraît pertinente, reprenant le débat de savoir si le Christ est représenté ou non en empereur, il suggère que la proximité entre images du Christ et images impériales dans l'antiquité tardive, est due à l'évolution des images impériales qui devaient montrer les empereurs en tant que *divi*.

La titre de la troisième partie – *Die «Theophanisierung» der Bilder mit Hilfe von Visionen*, p. 125–179 – de ce long chapitre pourrait se traduire par «comment les visions permettent aux images de devenir théophaniques». L'auteur commence par quelques images qui sont considérées comme des transitions, mais, lorsqu'il cite le Bon Pasteur de Galla Placidia ou le couvercle du reliquaire de San Nazaro comme exemples, je me demande s'il ne conviendrait pas de discuter de manière plus précise du vocabulaire: peut-on vraiment appeler «théophanies» toutes les images qui représentent le «Christ image de Dieu», pour reprendre une expression que j'ai utilisée dans ce cas ? J'aurais tendance à restreindre le sens de théophanie. De manière un peu inattendue, l'auteur commence son examen des images théophaniques par la Transfiguration, qui, pourtant, n'est pas la plus ancienne à apparaître. Il continue, de manière plus classique, par les représentations du tétramorphe, notant que les quatre Êtres sont représentés aussi dans des scènes où on ne peut pas les considérer comme symboles des évangélistes. La discussion sur la possibilité de les considérer comme des symboles de la parole de Dieu, donc des Évangiles, semble avoir

échappé à l'auteur (cf. SPIESER, Images du Christ …, p. 377, note 179, avec les références antérieures) ou ne l'a pas convaincu. La présence du tétramorphe lui paraît être une clé pour considérer une scène comme représentant une théophanie. Il introduit par ce biais une longue discussion sur les images à double zone des absides coptes dont l'interprétation, entre Ascension et théophanie, fait difficulté. Il élargit la discussion à d'autres images où le Christ n'est pas accompagné de l'ensemble des apôtres. Sa conclusion, que ces images étaient théophaniques à l'origine, mais qu'elles ont donné naissance aux images byzantines de l'Ascension, est solidement mise en en valeur. L'abside de Hosios David de Thessalonique fait évidemment partie des images discutées : il émet, p. 155, une intéressante hypothèse, à savoir que l'un des personnages est représenté effrayé, car spectateur d'une vision, tandis que l'autre, représenté comme un lecteur, fait l'expérience de la théophanie par la lecture et la vision intérieure. Mais si la représentation d'une cabane peut, sans trop de difficulté, être mise en rapport avec un personnage retiré et lisant, on ne voit guère le rapport éventuel entre la vue urbaine et le visionnaire, à moins qu'il ne faille comprendre que l'opposition entre les deux architectures représentées n'est pas l'homologue de l'opposition entre les deux personnages. Dans la suite de ce chapitre, il insiste sur l'aspect théophanique de la liturgie, souligné souvent par le trisagion présent dans certaines images (p. 156–166). Il a raison de préciser qu'il faut se garder de parler trop facilement d'images eucharistiques. Une dernière partie est consacrée aux motifs et aux compositions provenant de l'Apocalypse de Jean. Il conclut de manière très raisonnable qu'il n'y a que peu d'images dont on peut dire qu'elles illustrent ce texte.

Le troisième chapitre est intitulé «Expérience de la présence» (*Präsenzerfahrung*). Une première partie, intitulée «temporalité des visions» (*Zeitlichkeit der Visionen*,p. 181–220) est dans la ligne de la partie précédente, où BERGMEIER montrait que les scènes d'absides n'étaient pas à considérer comme narratives. Il y discute de la signification eschatologique donnée par de nombreux chercheurs aux scènes examinées dans la partie précédente. Avec une argumentation très précise et en utilisant de nombreux exemples, il conclut, après d'autres, que ces images devaient signifier la présence de Dieu sans visée eschatologique. Il faut espérer que cette interprétation deviendra prépondérante dans la recherche. Dans ce contexte il en vient aussi à évoquer la *Traditio legis*. Il met cette scène en relation avec un passage d'Isaïe (2.2–4) en renvoyant, pour le détail de l'argumentation, à des articles antérieurs. C'est effectivement un rapprochement intéressant qui, en tout cas, devrait définitivement contribuer à rendre caduque l'explication traditionnelle de transmission de la Loi à Pierre au profit d'une signification théophanique. Il englobe sous l'appellation de *Traditio Legis* des variantes très larges, la donnant même à l'abside des Saints-Cosme-et-Damien

de Rome. Je n'irais pas jusque là, mais c'est plus une question de vocabulaire que de fond, puisqu'on peut donner la même large signification à cette abside. La deuxième partie de ce chapitre, Visions et lumière (p. 220–238), est consacrée à la problématique de la lumière dans les édifices sacrés. C'est un thème souvent discuté, mais auquel l'auteur donne de la profondeur en citant de nombreux textes qui explicitent et justifient l'utilisation de la lumière sous des aspects variés pour montrer et souligner la présence divine. Une troisième et dernière partie de ce chapitre s'intitule «Images théophaniques, espaces sacrés et spectateur» (p. 238–251). Dans ces pages qui doivent aboutir à l'importance de la lumière pour signifier la présence divine, Bergmeier rappelle d'abord que la notion d'espace sacré où Dieu est présent ne s'est pas immédiatement imposée dans le christianisme. Il insiste sur la structuration de l'église en zones plus ou moins sacrées, thème évidemment déjà connu. Il attire en particulier l'attention sur une mosaïque du Louvre (sa planche 36 – voir ci-dessous pour la numérotation des planches) où il me semble avoir raison de corriger l'interprétation de P. Doncel-Voûte pour en faire une image montrant une théophanie aniconique. Dans une dernière subdivision de cette partie, il évoque rapidement le culte des images, en quelques pages peut-être trop courtes pour renouveler la question. Il donne des références pour montrer que l'adoration des images est plus ancienne que ce qui est parfois admis (mais il évoque, à l'appui de cette conclusion, le synode d'Elvira dont l'interprétation est très problématique – Spieser, Le décor figuré des édifices ecclésiaux. *Antiquite Tardive* 19, 2011, p. 96 avec les références antérieures). Bergmeier essaie de montrer néanmoins une différence entre l'adoration des images dans l'antiquité tardive par rapport au monde byzantin postérieur, en particulier par l'éloignement. C'est une réflexion qui mériterait certainement d'être creusée.

Dans un rapide épilogue, il évoque l'iconoclasme, affirmant que les théophanies sous forme de visions, qui étaient un compromis par rapport à l'interdit de représenter Dieu, ont été une cause essentielle de l'iconoclasme. Il prend comme argument leur disparition après l'iconoclasme au profit de l'utilisation de l'image humaine du Christ. Cette utilisation de l'image humaine du Christ est sans doute à justifier de manière plus développée que dans ces dernières lignes.

Une conclusion bien fournie reprend clairement les principaux points de l'argumentation et des conclusions de l'auteur, tout en élaborant quelques nouvelles pistes de réflexion qu'il n'y a pas lieu de discuter ici, mais je ne pense pas qu'on puisse dire que le Pantocrator des coupoles et la Théotokos des absides mettent l'accent sur l'Incarnation. Celle-ci est bien entendue supposée dans ces images, mais la justification de leur présence à ces emplacements est plus complexe.

Quelques remarques de détails avant de conclure: p. 75 note 401: l'auteur mentionne la lettre d'Eusèbe à Constantia en signalant simplement en note qu'il pourrait s'agit d'une interpolation sans donner de références (il mentionne encore cette lettre p. 248, note 1092 où il renvoie aux remarques de P. Speck contre l'authenticité, mais sans la bibliographie plus récente sur cette lettre); p. 120 et 121, on regrette de trouver le fameux ivoire de Justinien du Louvre encore qualifié de diptyque, alors qu'il a été bien montré que cette plaque ne pouvait pas être une feuille de diptyque; p. 126, fig. 61: quand un trône est surmonté d'un christogramme, peut-on parler de trône vide ou faut-il considérer que le christogramme signifie la présence du Christ (à propos d'un sarcophage de Frascati)? La question me semble méritée d'être posée ; p. 209, où est repris le texte du linteau de l'église Al Moallaqa au Caire, il conviendrait de citer J.-L. Fournet, L'inscription grecque de l'église Al-Mu'Allaqa. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, 93 1993) 237–244, qui est la mise au point la plus récente et la plus précise.

L'auteur renvoie par *Abb.* aux illustrations en noir et blanc qui accompagnent le texte et par *Tf.* aux planches couleurs en fin de volume. Mais il faut noter une double numérotation qui entraîne une confusion, facile d'ailleurs à surmonter pour le lecteur: sur la planche 6, indiquée en bas à gauche comme *Tafel* 6, se trouvent deux images, l'une numérotée 6, l'autre 7. En fait, les mentions dans le texte ***Tf. 7*** etc ne renvoient plus au numéro de la planche, mais au numéro qui accompagne l'image. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, p. 139, pour l'image de la grotte du Pantocrator du Latmos, il est renvoyé à la pl. 27, alors qu'elle se trouve en fait sur la pl. 22 avec le numéro 27. D'un point de vue matériel, c'est la seule remarque qui s'impose pour ce livre par ailleurs irréprochable.

Le livre de Bergmeier est un livre important, qui a le mérite d'aborder des problématiques difficiles et qui ont fait souvent l'objet de débats passionnés. Son érudition et la qualité de son argumentation me semblent asseoir définitivement, comme mentionné ci-dessus, un certain nombre de points importants. Que d'autres seront sans doute davantage discutés et qu'on peut ne pas être d'accord avec certains détails, n'enlève rien à la qualité de cet ouvrage.

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Karlheinz Dietz / Christian Hannick / Carolina Lutzka / Elisabeth Maier (Hrsg.), Das Christusbild. Zu Herkunft und Entwicklung in Ost und West. Akten der

Kongresse in Würzburg, 16.–18. Oktober 2014 und Wien, 17.–18. März 2015. Würzburg, Echter 2016. 883 S., 88 Farbtaf. ISBN 978-3-429-04199-1.

Der hier vorzustellende Band fasst die Vorträge zweier Tagungen zusammen, die unter dem Titel *Das Christusbild. Herkunft und Ursprung in Ost und West* zunächst vom 16. bis 18. Oktober 2014 in Würzburg und anschließend unter dem Titel *Spuren vom Heiligen Antlitz. Sindon, Sudarium, Mandylion, Veronica, Volto Santo* vom 17. bis 18. März 2015 in Wien stattgefunden haben. Die Akten sind unter dem Titel „Das Christusbild. Zu Herkunft und Entwicklung in Ost und West" in der Reihe *Das Östliche Christentum* erschienen und vom Ostkirchlichen Institut an der Universität Würzburg bzw. von Karlheinz Dietz, Christian Hannick, Carolina Lutzka und Elisabeth Maier herausgeben worden.

Ein Vorwort der Herausgeber, Grußworte von vier Bischöfen[1] sowie eine ausführliche Einleitung stehen am Anfang des Bandes. Die als „Einführung und Kongressnotizen"[2] überschriebene Einleitung bietet einen ausführlichen Zugang zum Thema sowie eine Zusammenfassung aller sich anschließenden Beiträge. Wer die insgesamt 880 Seiten nicht sogleich zur Gänze lesen möchte, findet hier einen guten Überblick.[3]

Aus diesem wird auch ersichtlich, worum es im Detail geht. Behandelt werden nämlich nicht – wie man vielleicht auch annehmen könnte – gemalte Bilder von Christus (kunstgeschichtliche Aspekte in diesem allgemeinen Sinne behandeln lediglich Stefan Heid[4] und Hans Georg Thümmel[5]), sondern ausschließlich „ungemalte", also sogenannte Acheiropoietoi. Damit sind jene überlieferten oder erhaltenen Denkmäler gemeint, die im Untertitel zum zweiten Teil des Aktenbandes aufgezählt werden, also solche wie das Mandylion, das Grabtuch von Turin,[6] die Veronika[7] oder das Tuch von Manoppello.[8] Diese beiden, Mandylion

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1 Friedhelm Hofmann (Bischof von Würzburg), Christoph Schönborn (Erzbischof von Wien), Cesare Nosiglia (Erzbischof von Turin), Feofan (Galinskij) (Erzbischof von Berlin und Deutschland).

2 K. Dietz, 27 – 64.

3 Weshalb die Vorstellung der einzelnen Beiträge an dieser Stelle nur eine Wiederholung bedeuten würde.

4 „Das Sehen beim Beten. Visuelle Elemente der frühchristlichen Liturgie", 75 – 104.

5 „Die Christusbilder in Byzanz, vom 6. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Bilderstreites", 156 – 159.

6 G. Ghiberti, Bibel und Turiner Grabtuch, 193 – 203; B. Barberis, A panorama of the scientific studies concerning the Shroud of Turin, 204 – 210; G. M. Zaccone, Dalle acheropite alla Sindone: pietà e storia, 211 – 221; I. L. E. Ramelli, Σινδών – Mandylion – Turin Shroud?", 499 – 535.

7 J. Prolović, Mandylion und Veronica. Eine Gegenüberstellung zweier Acheiropoietoi, 558 – 615; K. Dietz, Die Schwarze Veronica und ihre Maske – Eine Skizze zur Vera Icon im Vatikan, 627 – 718; R. Falcinelli, Der Schleier der Veronica und das Antlitz von Manoppello. Neue Untersu-

und Turin-Tuch, stehen zudem zusammen mit der Veronica im Zentrum der meisten hier dargebotenen Beiträge.

Diese behandeln das Phänomen der Acheiropoetoi unter den unterschiedlichsten Blickwinkeln, d. h. von der Kirchengeschichte[9] über die Theologie,[10] die Liturgie,[11] die Textwissenschaft[12] sowie die Textil-Forschung.[13] Dadurch ergeben sich – liest man den gesamten Band – immer wieder Redundanzen, die vor allem die Abgar-Legende betreffen und letztlich unvermeidbar sind.

Dabei ist der erste Teil (identisch mit den Beiträgen der Tagung in Würzburg), der sich an die Grußworte und Einführung anschließt, vor allem den historischen Grundlagen der Acheiropoietoi gewidmet, während im zweiten Teil (identisch mit den Beiträgen der Tagung in Wien) die textilen Denkmälern selbst im Zentrum stehen.

Es ist durchaus nicht eben leicht, für Tagungen immer solche Referentinnen und Referenten zu gewinnen, die exakt jene Bereiche kompetent abdecken, die sich aus der Logik der Themenstellung der Tagung ergeben. Dies jedoch ist hier vollumfänglich gelungen. Jeder nur denkbare Aspekt wird beleuchtet, und dies geschieht mit höchster fachlicher Kompetenz.

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chungen und Erkenntnisse, 719 – 759; P. Rainer, ‘Uno de veli di S:[ta] veronica’. Das Schweißtuch der Veronika in der Geistlichen Schatzkammer Wien, 849 – 863; E. Maier, Zur Verehrung der Veronica im 19. Jahrhundert, 863 – 880.

8 E. Pokorny, Die Tüchleinmalerei und der Schleier von Manoppello, 760 – 786; M. Flury-Lemberg, Das Wunder von Manoppello oder die Realität eines Gemäldes. Anmerkungen zum Schleier von Manoppello, 787 – 789.

9 P. Bruns, Die Geschichte von König Abgar und das Christusbild in der syrischen Überlieferung, 105 – 120; G. Emmenegger, Der Abgarbrief und seine Verwendung in koptischen Amuletten, 121 – 134; J. Rist, Das Bild von Kamuliana und seine Bedeutung für das frühe Byzanz, 135 – 155; A. Palmer, Edessan Imags of Christ with an appendix and the Life of Daniel of Aghlosh, 222 – 276; Ch. Hannick, Das Christusbild in der armenischen Überlieferung, 277 – 286; J. Prolović, Das ‚Wahre Bild‘ Christi in der slawischen Überlieferung, 287 – 335; J. Durand, L’image d’Abgar à la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, 336 – 359; R. Riesner, Von Jerusalem nach Edessa? Ein möglicher Weg des Grabtuchs Jesu im 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert, 360 – 392.

10 Ch. Dohmen, Das alttestamentliche Bilderverbot und die Entstehung der Christusbilder“, 65 – 74; K. Ch. Felmy, Theologie der Christus-Ikone, 160 – 170; M. Illert, Mandylion und Turiner Tuch, 536 – 544; G. Ghiberti, Soudarion und Sindon, 545 – 557.

11 C. Lutzka, Die byzantinischen Hymnen auf das Mandylion, 448 – 465; E. Morini, Aìr, Epitáfios-Palaščanica, Antimínsion and the Turin Shroud, 485 – 498; A. Rausch, Hymnen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit für die Verehrung des Hl. Grabtuchs und der Veronica, 616 – 626.

12 K. Dietz, Abgars Christusbild als Ganzkörperbild, 393 – 447.

13 M. Flury-Lemberg, Die Leinwand mit dem ungemalten Christusbild – Spuren ihrer Geschichte, 171 – 192; F. Maeder, Nicht überall, wo Byssus draufsteht, ist Muschelseide drin. Sprachliche und materielle Aspekte eines Missverständnisses – und die Folgen, 790 – 848.

Alles in allem sind in dem Akten-Band wohl so ziemlich alle Informationen enthalten, die zu dem Thema verfügbar sind. Dadurch entsteht in gewissem Sinne ein Kompendium bzw. ein Handbuch, das dieser Bezeichnung auch gerecht würde, gäbe es einen Sach- und Personen-Index. Dem Rezensenten ist bewusst, welche Mühen und Arbeit dem Erscheinen dieses Buches zugrunde liegen und welcher zusätzliche erhebliche Aufwand die Erstellung eines Index bedeutet hätte. Andererseits sind die Beiträge so eindeutig betitelt, daß man die gesuchte Information auch ohne Indices schnell erreichen kann.

Ein Bildteil mit 88 Farb-Tafeln illustriert und rundet das Buch ab, das in Zukunft als maßgebliches Referenz-Werk für das Thema einschlägig sein dürfte.

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Jesko Fildhuth, Das byzantinische Priene. Stadt und Umland. *Priene 5, Archäologische Forschungen*, 37. Wiesbaden, Reichert 2017, 266 S., 161 Abb., 4 Faltpläne. ISBN 978-3-95490-240-8.

Die Stadt Priene, am nördlichen Rand der unteren Mäanderebene gelegen, ist meist nur als Stadtneugründung des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. mit ihrem hippodamischen Straßensystem im historischen Bewusstsein. Das sich in der Stadt und ihrer Umgebung umfangreiche Reste der byzantinischen Epoche erhalten haben, wurde aber bereits von ihrem ersten Ausgräber Theodor Wiegand gesehen und gewürdigt.[14] Jesko Fildhuth widmet sich in seiner Monographie, einer Heidelberger Dissertation, ganz dieser Periode.[15] Und die byzantinische Stadtgeschichte, dies sei vorweggenommen, wird in diesem Buch gänzlich umfassend behandelt, unter Einbeziehung von gleichermaßen schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen. Fildhuth kann dabei von den Vorarbeiten der früheren Ausgräber und dem Material des Surveys von Hans Lohmann im Umland[16] ausgehen, war aber

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14 Th. Wiegand, Priene und Umland in christlicher Zeit, in Th. Wiegand / P. Schrader, Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895 – 1898. Berlin 1904, 475 – 492.

15 S. jetzt auch J. Fildhuth, Priene, in Ph. Niewöhner (ed.), The Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor. New York 2017, 249 – 253.

16 Inzwischen erschienen H. Lohmann / G. Kalatzoglou / G. Lüdorf, Forschungen in der Mykale I 1: Survey in der Mykale (Dilek Dağları /Aydın) 2001 – 2009. Bonn 2017, in dem einige der von Fildhuth behandelten Befunde ebenfalls untersucht werden.

auch selbst jahrelang als Grabungsarchäologe in Priene tätig. Er verfügt über direkte Anschauung der behandelten Monumente, unverzichtbar zur topographischen Analyse eines Siedlungsraumes. Das Buch nimmt nicht nur die Stadt, sondern wie bereits aus dem Untertitel klar wird, genauso das Umland, die Mykale, in den Blick.

Fildhuths Buch beginnt mit einleitenden Bemerkungen zu Forschungsgeschichte, Vorgehensweise und dem Landschaftsraum (S. 1–6). Darauf folgen die drei Hauptteile, die Analyse der Schriftquellen (S. 7–23), der Befunde in der Stadt (S. 25–89) und der Befunde im Umland (S. 91–144).

Bei der Untersuchung der Schriftquellen zeigt sich die Ausbildung des Verfassers auch als Byzantinist. Schon der Umstand, dass der Name der Stadt in byzantinischer Zeit in zahlreichen Varianten (S. 8) und dann in spätbyzantinischer Zeit gar unter dem Namen Sampson (S. 19) erscheint, macht dies nicht einfach. Nach einleitenden Bemerkungen zu Staats- und Kirchenverwaltung von Priene folgt ein chronologischer Durchgang anhand der Schriftquellen und Inschriften. Für das 5./6. Jahrhundert sind die Quellen äußerst spärlich, Priene war immerhin Bischofssitz. Für die Zeit vom 7. bis 10. Jahrhundert ist die Quellenlage nicht besser, abgesehen von der Erwähnung von Truppenkontingenten in Priene. Etwas versteckt (S. 10, 65, 87) finden sich die Beobachtungen zu einer heute nicht mehr nachweisbaren Befestigungsanlage südlich des Stadtberges am Rande der Mäanderebene, die mit einer Garnison von 500 armenischen Reitern zusammengebracht wird, die für 911 belegt ist[17]. Für das 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert liegen dafür umso umfangreichere Quellen vor, die vor allem die Klöster und Siedlungen im Umland betreffen. Ausführlich besprochen wird dabei das sog. *praktikon* des Adam von 1073, die Beschreibung eines Landgutes in der Mäanderebene bei Priene (S. 14–17). Im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert gehörten Priene und sein Umland zur *episkepsis* von Sampson, die nichts mit dem Sampson-Kloster in Konstantinopel zu tun hat (S. 19–23). Im späten 13. Jahrhundert fiel die Stadt dann an das türkische Emirat von Menteşe (S. 23).

Die eigentlichen Hauptteile des Buches machen aber die archäologischen Untersuchungen zur Topographie und den Denkmälern der Stadt Priene und ihres Umlandes aus. Zwar hatte der Ausgräber Theodor Wiegand die byzantinischen

17 Der Einwand von B. Anderson, BMCR 2018.08.15 Anm. 3, der Ortsname Πρίνη könne sich auf einen Ort in Pontos beziehen (nach J. Haldon, *TM* 13, 2000, 251–252 Anm. 50), überzeugt nicht, die Schreibung ist für Priene belegt und auch für 949 sind armenische Reiter in Priene bezeugt, s. S. 8, 10.

Befunde bereits selbst in der Abschlusspublikation vorgelegt, umfassend behandelt war davon bisher jedoch einzig die Basilika beim Theater.[18]

Nach einem Überblick zur topographischen Lage der Stadt und den daraus bedingten Terrassierungen und dem Straßensystem (S. 25 – 30) widmet sich der Verf. nach einem Abschnitt zu den byzantinischen Fundmünzen von Priene,[19] die er für die Siedlungsentwicklung nutzbar zu machen versucht (S. 31 – 33), den Bauten der Stadt (S. 33 – 77). Neben der Basilika beim Theater, die nach den Ergebnissen von S. Westphalen noch einmal vorgestellt wird, handelt es sich hier insbesondere um eine vom Verf. neu entdeckte und ausgegrabene Friedhofskirche in der Ostnekropole sowie zwei kleiner Kirchen auf der Akropolis und fünf Kapellen im Stadtgebiet; hinzu kommt eine Synagoge.[20] Die Behandlung der sog. „Bischofsresidenz" führen zu einer neuen Rekonstruktion und Einordnung dieser Anlage frühbyzantinischer Zeit (S. 45 – 61). Die Untersuchung der Agora zeigt, dass diese in frühbyzantinischer Zeit noch genutzt, dann im 6./7. Jahrhundert aufgelassen wurde, vom 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert teilweise als Nekropole diente und dort in frühtürkischer Zeit, wohl noch im 14. Jahrhundert, ein Kastell errichtet wurde, das bisher als „byzantinisch" bezeichnet wurde (S. 51 – 64). Die Untersuchung der innerstädtischen Wohnbebauung erbringt einen sehr differenzierten Befund, Teile der Stadt, etwa im Westen, waren nach dem 7. Jahrhundert verlassen, andere, das Ostviertel, wurden vom 11./12. bis ins 14. Jahrhundert noch einmal besiedelt (S. 66 – 75). Die hellenistische Stadtmauer wurde noch im 12./13. Jahrhundert repariert (S. 64 – 65). Erstmals gründlich und differenziert ausgewertet wird die Bebauung der Akropolis (Teloneia), die schwerpunktmäßig im 6.–7. und dann wieder im 12./13. Jahrhundert besiedelt und befestigt wurde, einzelne Scherben lassen sich jedoch auch dem 7. bis 10. Jahrhundert zuordnen (S. 77 – 84). Angemerkt sei hier jedoch, dass die postulierte Datierung der ersten Ausbauphase ins späte 7. / frühe 8. Jahrhundert (nach W. Müller-Wiener; S. 83, 87) nicht archäologisch gesichert ist, sondern nur eine auf historischen Überlegungen beruhende Hypothese darstellt. Aus all diesen Teiluntersuchungen zeichnet der Verf. eine Siedlungsge-

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18 S. Westphalen, Die Basilika von Priene. Architektur und liturgische Ausstattung. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 48 (1998) 279 – 340.

19 Gewünscht hätte man sich eine genauere Vorstellung der Bleisiegel von Priene. Siegel mit Fundorten angeführt S. 87 Anm. 588 und in der Liste zu den Fundmünzen S. 155 – 158. An Siegeln von Bischöfen von Priene scheint nur ein Beispiel der 1. Hälfte des 11. Jhs. bekannt zu sein: J. Nesbitt / N. Oikonomides, Catalogue of Byzantine seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art. Bd. 3. Washington 1996, Nr. 30; J.-C. Cheynet, *Revue numismatique* 155 (1999) 341 Nr. 37.

20 Dazu noch N. Burkhardt, Uncomparable buildings? The synagogues in Priene and Sardis. *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 5/2 (2014) 167 – 203.

schichte der Stadt Priene nach (S. 85 – 89): auf eine starke Bautätigkeit im 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert folgt eine vor allem aus dem fehlenden keramischen und numismatischen Befund abzulesende weitgehende Aufgabe des Siedlungsgebiets in der Stadt und Verlagerung im späten 7. Jahrhundert auf die Teloneia, im 11./12. Jahrhundert dann neben der Weiternutzung der Teloneia eine Wiederbesiedlung des Ostviertels der Unterstadt.

Die Untersuchung der Besiedlung des gebirgigen Umlandes von Priene, der Mykale (S. 91 – 144), erfolgt sehr differenziert nach der Nutzungsart der Fundstellen, von Einzelgehöften über größere Domänen bis zu Siedlungen unterschiedlicher Art – kleinere ländliche Siedlungen (*komai*, *choria*), befestigte Siedlungen (*kastra*). Gerade bei Letzteren, ab dem 11. Jahrhundert als *phrurion* bezeichnet, ist jedoch oft nur schwer zu unterscheiden, ob es sich um befestigte Siedlungen oder Wehranlagen handelt, Mischformen dürften die Regel gewesen sein. Bei den Sakralanlagen lassen sich Einsiedeleien bzw. Eremitenhöhlen nachweisen, diese in der Mykale jedoch eher selten. Dahingegen lassen sich eine größere Anzahl von mittelbyzantinischen Klöstern feststellen. Bei der Untersuchung der Lage und der Vernetzung der Fundorte, der Gehöfte, Siedlungen und Klöster, beschreitet der Verf. gänzlich neue Wege, indem er das Straßen- und Wegenetz rekonstruiert, die Zusammen- und Abhängigkeit verschiedener Fundort untersucht. Dies erfolgt exemplarisch an den Tälern der Südseite der Mykale westlich von Priene (S. 117 – 144), den am besten untersuchten und am leichtesten zugänglichen Teilen der Mykale. Sie zeigen ein differenziertes Bild von Acker- und Weideland, agrarischen Ansiedlungen und Klöstern, das vom Verf. detailliert rekonstruiert wird.

Das abschließende Kapitel (S. 144 – 149) fasst die Detailergebnisse noch einmal in Form eines synthetischen Modells der Siedlungsgeschichte zusammen. Die für die Stadtgeschichte entwickelten drei Hauptphasen werden hier in Verbindung mit der Besiedlung der Stadt und ihres Umlandes gebracht. Gerade in der Phase vom 7. bis 11./12. Jahrhundert, die innerhalb der Stadt durch einen Rückgang der Aktivitäten, wenn nicht gar durch einen Abbruch gekennzeichnet ist, zeigt sich eine vermehrte Bedeutung und Ausbau der Strukturen im Umland. Die letzte Phase (11./12.–13. Jahrhundert) ist noch einmal mit einem Ausbau der Stadt selbst verbunden, die nun wieder zum Zentralort eines blühenden Umlandes wird. Dies steht möglicherweise in Zusammenhang mit der Einrichtung der *episkepsis* von Sampson, wobei hier wieder historische Ereignisse zur Erklärung der Veränderung der Stadtstruktur herangezogen werden. Somit liefe die vom Verf. aus den archäologischen Befunden abgeleitete Stadtentwicklung in ihren Phasen weitgehend parallel zur nach den Schriftquellen rekonstruierten. Bewusst bleiben muss dabei jedoch immer, dass hier sich verändernde archäologische Befunde nur durch deren (wahrscheinliche) Verknüpfung mit historischen Ereignissen erklärt

werden, ein naheliegendes, jedoch nicht zwingendes Modell. Anzumerken ist, dass vor allem für Phase 2 nur das Fehlen bzw. die Nichtidentifikation von Funden angeführt wird, ein Befund, der sich in der Archäologie wieder ändern kann;[21] Keramik des 8. Jahrhunderts ist etwa bis heute archäologisch praktisch nicht nachweisbar.

Vergleicht man die Monographie von Jesko FILDHUTH mit den gleichzeitig entstandenen Studien zu Milet[22] und Labraunda[23] in byzantinischer Zeit, so fällt noch einmal deutlich die eminent historische Herangehensweise des Verfassers auf. Nicht Monumente werden vorgestellt, sondern eine Stadt- und Landschaftsgeschichte geboten. Mit diesem Buch liegt erstmals eine umfassende Siedlungsgeschichte einer byzantinischen Stadt und ihres Umlandes in Kleinasien vor, es kann als Musterbeispiel für weitere solche Studien dienen.

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Nicephori Blemmydae *De virtute et ascesi*, Iosephi Racendytae *De virtute*, ed. Erika GIELEN. *CC Series Graeca*, 80. Turnhout, Brepols 2016. CXLV, 92 S. ISBN 978-2-5035-4412-0.

The pseudo-Aristotelian treatise Περὶ ἀρετῶν (*De virtute*) was continued by a number of Byzantine writers. Two of these, Nicephorus Blemmydes and Joseph Racendytes, and their treatments of the subject have been discussed in Erika GIELEN's doctoral thesis, which was presented at KU Leuven in the context of a more extensive study on the legacy of Aristotle's ethics and politics in mediaeval and early modern Europe. An elaborated version of that thesis is published in this volume, as the 80th in the Corpus Christianorum *Series Graeca*.

In her detailed introduction (pp. I–CXLV) the author briefly presents the two Byzantine scholars and focuses on the study of the manuscript tradition of the two treatises and their relation to one another. In her presentation of the manuscripts her interest centres primarily on the history of the codices, which is

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21 Kritische Anmerkungen zur Periodisierung in der Rezension von B. ANDERSON, BMCR 2018.08.15.

22 PH. NIEWÖHNER, Die byzantinischen Basiliken von Milet. Milet I 11. Berlin 2016.

23 J. BLID, Remains of late antiquity. *Labraunda*, 4. Stockholm 2016; mit einer zu kleinteiligen Periodisierung in sieben Phasen.

known from recent literature, and not on the description of content and the codicological description; for these, GIELEN refers the reader to the library catalogues and the doctoral dissertation of M. VERHELST, Le Traité de l'âme de Nicéphore Blemmyde. Histoire du texte, édition critique, traduction et analyse du contenu doctrinal, UK Louvain 1976. The catalogues of manuscripts, however, are often old and their descriptions in many cases incomplete, while the doctoral dissertation cited has not been published. The reader is thus deprived of reliable data concerning e. g. the dating of the manuscripts, particularly in cases such as that of manuscripts C (Laur. 58.20) and P (Paris. 3031) of Joseph Racendytes' work, the precise dating of which is important for the tradition of the text and the position of the manuscripts in the stemma codicum.

The examination of the relationships between the manuscripts, ten for Nicephorus Blemmydes' treatise *De virtute et ascesi* and eight for Joseph Racendytes' *De virtute*, is based on a full comparison of them and their history and is satisfactorily documented following the principles of textual criticism, with reference to earlier editions of the two treatises, the restoration of the texts, and the principles followed in their edition.

One particularly important and interesting chapter deals with the sources for Joseph Racendytes' treatise, which is part of his larger work *Synopis variarum disciplinarum*, in which he draws on the works of other writers, quoting them almost word for word, as has already been shown. Gielen demonstrates that here, too, Nicephorus Blemmydes is the principal source for the *Synopis*, since most of Joseph Racendytes' *De virtute* is the corresponding treatise by Blemmydes, the text of which he copies "practically in its entirety", making only changes that correspond to his personal positions and aims and adding, after the first paragraphs of Blemmydes' text, part of the opusculum of Maximus the Confessor, *Ad Marinum presbyterum*, on free will.

Blemmydes' treatise is not, however, the only text that Racendytes includes in his work. In codex Laur. 58.20 (C) he seems to use the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* after the end of the *Synopsis*, while in the other manuscripts he uses, in its place, a treatise of similar content by an anonymous author, which is also preserved independently in three more recent manuscripts. It would be useful if GIELEN could explore more thoroughly the reasons for this different tradition of the Racendytes treatise in the two principal manuscripts.

In the edition of the texts of Nicephorus Blemmydes and Joseph Racendytes which concludes the volume, GIELEN successfully follows the editing principles used in recent decades for the edition of Byzantine texts, providing a reliable

text, although in the case of Joseph Racendytes' treatise, which reproduces known works, its usefulness is limited.

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Apostolos KARPOZILOS / Georgios FATOUROS, The Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos. Greek Text, Translation, and Commentary. Athens, Kanakis 2017. 400 S. ISBN 978-960-673-22-3.

Au début des années 1990, dans les pages de la revue *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, s'est amorcé un dialogue scientifique exemplaire entre deux byzantinistes distingués, Apostolos KARPOZILOS, de l'Université de Ioannina, et Géorgios FATOUROS, de la Freie Universität de Berlin, autour de la datation de la correspondance de l'homme de lettres et professeur, Théodore Hyrtakènos, qui vécut à l'époque des Paléologues (ca. moitié du XIIIe – deuxième quart du XIVe siècle). Dès les années 1985 – 1986, Apostolos KARPOZILOS, en qualité de chercheur visiteur à Dumbarton Oaks, avait annoncé une nouvelle édition des lettres d'Hyrtakènos, assortie d'une traduction et de commentaires; un peu plus tard, en 1990 et en 1991, il avait publié deux articles sur ce sujet (The correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos. *JÖB* 40, 1990, 275 – 294, et: Books and bookmen in the 14th century. The epistolographical evidence. *JÖB* 41, 1991, 255 – 276). L'année suivante, en 1993, dans le numéro 42 de la même revue (pp. 221 – 231), dans son article: Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Theodoros Hyrtakenos, Géorgios FATOUROS a formulé ses suggestions concernant la datation des lettres. C'est alors que les deux chercheurs ont décidé d'unir leurs efforts pour éditer en commun le corpus épistolaire. Certes, leurs occupations personnelles de recherche et leurs publications respectives ont quelque peu ralenti le rythme de la collaboration mais, comme le note dans la préface Apostolos KARPOZILOS qui, ces dernières années, s'est chargé seul de mettre la dernière main à cet ouvrage, «mieux vaut tard que jamais». Géorgios FATOUROS est décédé le 12 avril 2018, mais, avant de quitter ce monde, il a pu prendre en mains le volume publié de la correspondance d'Hyrtakènos, fruit de si longues années de labeur.

Ces 93 lettres qui sont transmises par un seul témoin, le manuscrit Parisinus gr. 1209, peut-être autographe[24] ou copié sous la supervision de l'entourage de

24 Un point de vue récemment soutenu par P. CABALLERO SÁNCHEZ, *Byzantion* 84 (2014) 33 – 47.

leur auteur,[25] n'étaient pas inconnues des spécialistes. Elles avaient été publiées pour la première fois à la fin du XVIII[e] / début du XIX[e] siècles par F. J. G. La Porte du Theil, Notices et extraits d'un volume de la Bibliothèque Nationale, coté MCCIX parmi les manuscrits grecs, et contenant les opuscules et lettres anecdotes de Théodôre l'Hyrtacènien. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques* 5 (1798) 709–744; 6 (1800) 1–48. Toutefois, les lectures erronées, les omissions et surtout les nombreuses fautes typographiques de cette édition, venant s'ajouter au style alambiqué d'Hyrtakènos qui donne souvent au texte un côté abscons, rendaient nécessaire une nouvelle édition accompagnée des apparats, de commentaires et d'une traduction dans une langue moderne.

Le livre s'ouvre sur une Préface signée par Apostolos Karpozilos, suivie d'une introduction (pp. 11–26), qui résume tout ce que les deux éditeurs avaient déjà formulé, dans leurs études antérieures, concernant la vie, l'activité d'enseignant, le statut social et la véritable situation financière de Théodore Hyrtakènos, la chronologie des lettres, le réseau des destinataires et leurs relations avec l'auteur ainsi que les raisons qui conduisirent ce dernier à constituer ce recueil.[26] Vient ensuite un chapitre qui se réfère de façon détaillée à la description codicologique, paléographique et textuelle du Par. gr. 1209 (pp. 27–33),[27] ainsi qu'à sa première édition par François Jean Gabriel de La Porte du

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25 Karpozilos, tant dans son article de 1990 (p. 286) que dans la présente édition (p. 14, 25), estime que c'est Hyrtakènos lui-même qui avait décidé de réunir et de publier en un seul volume ses discours et ses lettres. Sans exclure l'éventualité que le Par. gr. 1209 soit un autographe de l'auteur, il conserve néanmoins des réserves à cet égard.

26 Selon Karpozilos, Hyrtakènos écrivait des lettres de protestation et, à la fin de sa carrière, il décida de les publier, peut-être pour exprimer publiquement l'injustice dont il avait été victime mais aussi parce qu'il croyait à la grande qualité littéraire de ses œuvres qu'il estimait dignes d'être lues (*JÖB* 40, 1990, 286–287; The Letters, p. 25). N. Gaul, s'appuyant sur la multitude de notes marginales dues à l'auteur lui-même, de proverbes, récits mythologiques, maximes et de souhaits ou de passages d'auteurs anciens figurant dans les lettres (on notera que certains d'entre eux présentent plusieurs occurrences y compris dans des lettres adressées aux mêmes destinataires) suggère, fort judicieusement à mon sens, un motif supplémentaire qui expliquerait pourquoi ce recueil fut constitué: Hyrtakènos aurait conçu ce recueil comme un manuel de rhétorique à l'intention de ses lecteurs/élèves par l'intermédiaire duquel il leur soumettait des modèles de lettres (Thomas Magistros und die spätbyzantinische Sophistik. Studien zum Humanismus urbaner Eliten in der frühen Palaiologenzeit. *Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 10. Wiesbaden 2011, 285–288).

27 À la p. 31 du livre, sont recensées les pages du manuscrits qui contiennent des *marginalia*; en ce qui concerne les pp. 105–164 du codex qui transmettent les lettres, ont été omises par inadvertance les pages suivantes: ἱστορία (pp. 137, 139, 141, 142, 145, 147, 150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 157), παροιμία (pp. 134, 136, 137, 142,143, 144, 146, 147, 150, 160). Dans le cas de

Theil. Le chapitre suivant est consacré aux portraits des 29 destinataires de la correspondance d'Hyrtakènos (pp. 35–63), dont l'empereur Andronic II Paléologue, le patriarche Jean Glykys,[28] les deux puissants ministres et hommes des lettres, Nicéphore Choumnos[29] et Théodore Métochitès, ainsi qu'une série de dignitaires, de hauts fonctionnaires de l'État et anciens élèves du professeur. La première partie se clôt sur un tableau des abréviations (pp. 65–66).[30]

Vient ensuite la nouvelle édition des lettres (pp. 67–315), qui s'accompagne d'un apparat des sources et parallèles et d'un apparat critique. La restitution du texte grec est exemplaire. La traduction en anglais qui figure à la droite du texte fournit une aide substantielle et précieuse au lecteur contemporain et lui permet de saisir précisément le contenu de chaque lettre, ce qui est loin d'être facile étant donné le style abscons de l'auteur. Le traducteur suit fidèlement le texte grec mais a soin parallèlement d'élucider toutes les obscurités de l'original tout en signant une traduction anglaise remarquablement fluide.

Après l'édition et la traduction des lettres, figurent dans un chapitre distinct des commentaires sur la plupart d'entre elles (pp. 317–358). Le livre s'achève sur quatre Index: Noms propres, Termes et Mots notables, Sources et parallèles, Incipits des lettres (pp. 359–400).

γνώμη, la page 135 doit être corrigée en 139. Pour un aperçu exact des lettres qui contiennent des notes de ce type en marge, voir Gaul, ibid. pp. 285–286, note 285–287.

28 Il est peut-être intéressant de noter que dans les deux lettres (ep. 3 et 4) dans les quelles Hyrtakènos s'adresse au patriarche Jean Glykys, il développe le même thème – de façon plus détaillée dans la première et plus concise dans la seconde – à savoir son véhément désir de rencontrer personnellement le patriarche; en dépit de ses tentatives réitérées et de longues heures d'attente, il n'y parvint jamais, du fait des portiers qui lui barraient l'accès. Dans les éloges des patriarches, comme plus généralement dans les éloges d'archontes, une vertu qui est habituellement louée est l'aménité du prélat (ou archonte), qui abolit les intermédiaires et le protocole, ce qui permet d'avoir plus facilement accès à sa personne (cf. Pseudo-Ménandre, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, 416.6–7; 416.14–15 Russell-Wilson; exemple de patriarche, voir l'éloge de Manuel Sarantènos pour Georges II Xiphilin, ed. M. Loukaki, Discours annuels en l'honneur du patriarche Georges Xiphilin. Paris 2005, 165.210–214, 204). Peut-on penser qu'Hyrtakènos blâme indirectement le patriarche? À noter que lorsqu'il désire lui faire part d'une requête précise, il ne s'adresse pas directement à lui mais à son fils, Basile Glykys, qui fut son élève (ep. 67, 87, 93).

29 Sur les relations de Nicéphore Choumnos avec Théodore Hyrtakènos, voir. également A. Riehle, Funktionen der byzantinischen Epistolographie. Studien zu den Briefen und Briefsammlungen des Nikephoros Chumnos (ca. 1260–1327). Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophie an der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München 2014 (libre accès sur l'internet: https://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/16879/).

30 Ajoutons également les abréviations DOP (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*) et ZRVI (*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*) qui figurent dans pp. 45 et 25 respectivement.

Cette nouvelle édition judicieusement commentée des lettres et leur traduction dans une langue moderne par Fatouros et Karpozilos vient sans soute raviver l'intérêt des byzantinistes pour la correspondance de ce lettré byzantin, plutôt méconnu, de l'époque des Paléologues. Avec pour point de départ et base solide cet ouvrage des deux savants éditeurs, fruit d'un long et patient labeur, ceux-ci pourront notamment étudier de façon plus exhaustive et plus globale la dimension littéraire et la composition de ces textes, ce qui les conduira éventuellement à reconsidérer d'un nouvel œil Théodore Hyrtakènos à la fois comme écrivain et comme enseignant

Signalons quelques points mineurs à prendre en compte en vue d'une éventuelle réédition de l'ouvrage:

Dans l'apparat des sources et parallèles:

1. Il faut ajouter cf. adn. ad ep. 1,36 aux ep. 2,19 – 20; ep. 6, 30; ep. 9,34 – 35; ep. 92,15 et faire figurer ces renvois également dans l'index des sources: *Iliade* 6, 506 et *Iliade* 15, 263.

2. Comme, dans la lettre 7, il est question des points de vue sur l'âme de Platon et de Plotin, on ajouterait à ep. 7,17 – 18 τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν – ἐντρανίσητε: cf. Plot. Enn. 1, 6, 9.24 – 28 ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ μέγα κάλλος βλέπει. Ἐὰν δὲ ἴῃ ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν λημῶν κακίαις καὶ οὐ κεκαθαρμένος ἢ ἀσθενής, ἀνανδρίᾳ οὐ δυνάμενος τὰ πάνυ λαμπρὰ βλέπειν, οὐδὲν βλέπει.

3. Étant donné qu'Hyrtakènos semble avoir eu de l'affection pour Michel Choniatès, il convient d'ajouter à ep. 8,32 – 33 λόγους καὶ μαργάρων καὶ λίθων τιμιωτέρους: cf. Michel Choniatès, ep. 60,38 – 39 (p. 82 Κολονου) ἄλλα δέ τινα χρυσοῦ τιμιώτερα, λίθων καὶ μαργάρων τιμαλφέστερα. Τίνα ταῦτα; Εὐχάριστοι εὐφημίαι καὶ ἐπαινετήριοι λόγοι.

4. À ep. 8,7 ajouter la référence Theoph. Sim. ep. 27 (16,5 Zanetto) qui figure à ep. 9,7; à ep. 9,7 écrire cf. adn. ad ep. 8,7.

5. Étant donné que l'éditeur a pour principe de renvoyer à l'apparat des sources de la lettre où figure pour la première fois un emprunt, à ep. 55,14 – 15 il faudrait noter cf. adn. ad ep. 5,11 – 13 et non de nouveau la référence complète à Greg. Naz., *Or.* 44, 1.

Index des Citations:

1. À *Iliade* 15, 263, corriger 1:31 en 1:36
2. À *Odyssée,* ajouter le 9, 191 au 1:15 – 16
3. Théophylacte Simokatte, ajouter ep. 27 (16, 5 Zanetto) à 8:7; 9:7.

Index des Termes et Mots Notables

Je pense qu'il vaut la peine d'ajouter les mots suivants aux caractéristiques d'Hyrtakènos: ἀνάγκη/ἀναγκαῖος, ἔνδεια, αἰτεῖν, χρυσίον (ἀργύριον y figure déjà).

Index des Noms propres

Ajouter: Πυριφλεγέθοντες 9, 25. Γλαῦκος, également: 1, 34. Ἥφαιστος, également: 9, 28; 9, 33. Σειρῆνες/Σειρήν (dans la mesure où il a été répertorié à 15,20 [Σειρῆνος]) également: 31, 8; 37, 14; 85, 9.

Signalons enfin quelques coquilles:

p. 11 note 1, lire «les» au lieu de «le»; note 2 «römischen» au lieu de «rőmischen» (idem dans d'autres passages comme par exemple, p. 13 note 13 «JÖB» au lieu de «JŐB»); p. 24 note 24 «XIV.» au lieu de «XIV»; p. 33 «François» au lieu de «Francois»; p. 52 note 38 «Academiae» au lieu de «Academie»; p. 59 «πρωτοψάλτῃ» au lieu de «πρωτοψάλτη»; p. 365 Κελτικό« au lieu de »ελκτικό«.

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Glenn Peers, Orthodox magic in Trebizond and beyond. A Fourteenth-Century Greco-Arabic Amulet Roll. With a contribution by Barbara Roggema. Geneva, Pomme d'Or 2018. 180 p. 48 fig. (partially in colour). ISBN 978-2-9557042-2-6.

Scholarly interest in the empire of Trebizond seems to be on the rise again. Important *desiderata* include, among others, a corpus of inscriptions, full *regesta* and a critical edition of the extant imperial documents, a critical edition of the verses of the imperial notary Stephanos Sgouropoulos, and a critical edition of the chartulary of the Vazelon monastery. The aim of the present monograph is more limited in scope, but nonetheless welcome. Glenn P(eers) proposes to study an amulet roll now divided between the University of Chicago Library (MS 125), and the Pierpont Morgan Library (MS 499). Its pictorial programme (comprising, among others, St. Eugenios and St. Kanidios) suggests that it originated in the empire of Trebizond. Part of the argument has already been presented in a previous study, cf. G. Peers, Art and identity in an amulet roll from fourteenth-century Trebizond, in B. ter Haar Romeny / M. Immerzeel (eds.), From religious origins of nations? The Christian communities of the Middle East. *Church History and Religious Culture*, 89. Leiden 2009, 153 – 178. In the

first part of the monograph (1–90) P. provides a general historical and cultural context for the roll, discusses its pictorial programme and possible functions. The appendix (91–104, 105–118) contains a description of the roll and a brief introduction on the Arabic prayers written on the reverse, including a transcript of the original text and an English translation. The Arabic texts are clearly secondary. They are dated to 1383 and therefore constitute an important *terminus ante quem* for the Greek text of the roll. The plates are numerous but too small. This is regrettable because the pictorial programme of the roll is a crucial part of the argumentation and because specific information on the script (cf. infra) is lacking.

P. is perfectly right in asserting that the object needs further study, and one would expect a monograph of 180 pages which is dedicated to a single (albeit unique) roll to cover all aspects that could contribute to its correct contextualization. This is, however, not the case. Observations of codicological and palaeographical character are missing, and several misapprehensions are present. Even though many publications of the two leading experts on the empire of Trebizond, S. P. Karpov and R. Shukurov, are available in languages other than Russian, serious research on the empire of Trebizond without knowledge of Russian is at present difficult. P. cites some publications by R. Shukurov, but none of the research published by S. P. Karpov has been considered. This is especially regrettable in the case of his excellent and comprehensive study on the culture of the empire of Trebizond, which has been published in four updated versions (cf. the respective chapters in S. P. Karpov, Ιστορία της Αυτοκρατορίας της Τραπεζούντας. Athens 2017, and История Трапезундской империи. Второе издание, исправленное и дополненное. St. Petersburg 2017). Furthermore, P. does not consider R. S. Stefec, Aspekte griechischer Buchproduktion in der Schwarzmeerregion. *Scripta* 7 (2014) 205–233, where a full account of manuscript production and circulation within the empire of Trebizond is given (for some additional material cf. idem, Die Grabrede des Konstantinos Lukites auf Kaiser Alexios II. Megas Komnenos. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte der byzantinischen Provinz. *Νέα Ῥώμη*, in print). The material available is rather scanty, but nonetheless ampler than the manuscripts cited by G. Peers, Trebizond and its world through manuscripts, in A. Eastmond (ed.), Byzantium's other empire. Trebizond. Istanbul 2016, 103–124.

If we pass now to some more specific observations, it is difficult to agree with P.'s perception of the empire of Trebizond as a ‘Greek emirate’ (9) or even ‘kingdom’ (16). Both terms rightly suggest the petty nature of the state and its largely Muslim surroundings, but they misinterpret the self-perception and official ideology of the Grand Komnenoi. The latter considered themselves Christian emperors (not kings) of the Romans; only in 1282 did they relinquish

their universal title, still retaining, however, the prestigious appellation of 'emperor'. Cf. N. Oikonomides, The chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: imperial tradition and political reality. *Archeion Pontou* 35 (1978) 299–332; G. Prinzing, Das byzantinische Kaisertum im Umbruch. Zwischen regionaler Aufspaltung und erneuter Zentrierung in den Jahren 1204–1282, in R. Gundlach / H. Weber (eds.), Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers. Vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator. *Schriften der Mainzer Philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft*, 13. Stuttgart 1992, 129–183; S. P. Karpov, От сеньора – до императора. Титулование Великих Комнинов в западноевропейской средневековой традиции, in: Искусство власти. Сборник в честь профессора Н. А. Хачатурян. Saint Petersburg 2007, 88–98. This underestimation resurfaces once again on p. 18, where John Lazaropoulos is called 'bishop of Trebizond'. Trebizond was, in fact, one of the most important metropolitan sees of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The author confuses *script* and *palaeography* (16), and *documents* and *diplomatics* (58); the latter are disciplines, the former the objects they study. A part of the translations of Greek acronyms on pp. 35–36 is incorrect.

Whatever the exact nature of the roll, it can hardly be regarded as 'bilingual' (6) since the Arabic text is clearly secondary. Information on the script of the document is insufficient; the short remark (11) that the roll has been penned by the same scribal hand is unsatisfactory. Unfortunately, art historians rarely pay attention to the fact that there is more to a manuscript (or a roll) than its pictorial programme. This is probably a problem of training, because Greek palaeography and codicology are largely absent from Classical and Byzantine Studies in the Anglo-Saxon world. Since the palaeographical dataset we dispose of is much larger than that available for illuminated manuscripts, palaeographical analysis is, generally speaking, a much more powerful analytical tool than iconographic analysis. The two are, however, complementary. This is clearly demonstrated by the present case. The undoubtedly correct attribution of the roll to Trebizond would have been impossible without the contribution of art history, and only palaeographic analysis can offer evidence on the precise milieu in which the roll originated. The flawless orthography points to a professional, well-educated scribe, and the confident, ornamental script denotes a scribe familiar with chancery practice. This is underpinned by the special form of *nu* which is formed in four traits. Its form clearly imitates the special script used for imperial *chrysoboulloi logoi* (not, however, for less solemn documents) as evidenced by the only two extant originals, the *chrysoboullos logos* for the monastery of Soumela (1364) and for the Dionysiou monastery on Mt. Athos (1374). It is therefore very probable that the roll originated in the imperial chancery of Trebizond; it may well have been commissioned by the emperor himself (cf. also the remarks on p. 17 and 21–22).

P. is perfectly right in invoking the Venice Alexander romance (Istituto Ellenico, Cod. 5) for stylistic comparison (16). Its provenance from Trebizond has been firmly established by L. Gallagher (not by N. Trahoulia), and the previous, somewhat infortunate analysis by A. Xyngopoulos can now be dismissed. Contrary to the opinion of Trahoulia, the manuscript does not contain a version of the Alexander romance especially composed for the emperor of Trebizond. This is impossible on stemmatic grounds, nor is the identification of the imperial commissioner with Alexios III Megas Komnenos certain (the contrary assertions on p. 18 are false). B. Fonkič has identified the hand of the (otherwise anonymous) scribe of the manuscript in a note dated to 1330 and contained in another codex. This clearly implies that the Venice Alexander romance may have been commissioned for one of Alexios III' predecessors as well as for Alexios III himself, the former being slightly more probable. Cf. the detailed discussion in Stefec, Grabrede (as above). P. seems to be of a different opinion as to the possible provenance of the codex Athon. Vatop. 1199 (p. 21–22) which the author of the present review has studied *in situ*. His new interpretation will certainly be very welcome; it should only be pointed out that the evidence for manuscript production in Trebizond is very scanty indeed, and that a single manuscript is *not* sufficient to postulate the existence of an independent workshop (sometimes abusively called *scriptorium*, a term hardly applicable to the Byzantine cultural area). The undeniable differences between the roll and Vatop. 1199 therefore constitute no reason to postulate such a workshop, even more since the provenance of Vatop. 1199 is not altogether clear. The miniature of the 1364 Soumela chrysobull has not been used for comparison; for this document, see R. S. Stefec, Die Textgeschichte des *chrysobullos logos* des Alexios III. Megas Komnenos für das Kloster der Muttergottes Sumela (1364). *BZ* 111 (2018) 745–774.

To sum up, the objective of the author seems to have been to ‘make the roll as vivid and active as it was during its life as a single object, just the same, and it demands that imagination be aroused by comparison with a large number of objects and by evocation of concepts especially descriptive for this unique object’. The short remarks made above should have shown that facts and their correct interpretation are more conducive to historical research than imagination; they are, at the very least, verifiable.

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Nachrichten

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Nachrufe

Paul Canart (25.10.1927 – 14.9.2017)

Als im Jahre 1957 der dreißigjährige Philologe, Theologe und ordinierte Priester Paul Canart in der Nachfolge von Ciro Gianelli als *scriptor graecus* an die Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana berufen wurde, war nicht abzusehen, dass damit eine neue Epoche in der Beschäftigung mit griechischen Handschriften und eine neue Sicht in der Handschriftenforschung überhaupt beginnen würde.

Paul Canart wurde am 25. Oktober 1927 in Cuesmes (Belgien) geboren und absolvierte seine Studien in klassischer Philologie, tomistischer Philosophie und Theologie an der Universität Louvain (1944 – 1951). Er wurde 1951 zum Priester geweiht und unterrichtete an zwei katholischen Lyzeen in Brüssel, ehe er 1957 zum *Scriptor* für griechische Handschriften an der Biblioteca Vaticana ernannt wurde. Hier nahm er auch wichtige Verwaltungspositionen ein: als Leiter des gedruckten Buchbestandes (1980 – 1984), als Leiter der Handschriftensammlung (1984 – 1998) und schließlich, bis zu seiner Emeritierung, als Vizepräfekt der Bibliothek (1994 – 2002). Von 1969 bis 2000 war er Dozent an der Scuola di Biblioteconomia und später (1979 – 1985) deren Leiter. Trotz seiner vielfältigen wissenschaftlichen und administrativen Verpflichtungen war es ihm möglich, im Jahr 1979 den Docteur-ès-Lettres der Universität Paris IV-Sorbonne zu erwerben. Er war Mitglied (oder Vorsitzender) zahlreicher wissenschaftlicher Institutionen, wie dem Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, dem Comitato di Studi Bizantini della Santa Sede, der Commissione Italiana Indici e Cataloghi dei Manoscritti, und gehörte auch der Accademia dei Lincei an. Von 1993 bis 2003 war er Vorsitzender des „Comité in-

ternational de paléographie grecque“, zu deren Gründungsmitgliedern (1974) er gehörte. Auch nach seiner Emeritierung blieb er in Rom und arbeitete, nun frei von administrativen Verpflichtungen, mit umso größerem Nachdruck an Studien zu Handschriften der Vatikanischen Bibliothek. Einen Monat vor seinem 90. Geburtstag verstarb er nach kurzer Krankheit am 14. September 2017 in einer Klinik in Brüssel.

Die reiche Publikationsfolge von Paul Canart ist ganz in seine Tätigkeit an der Biblioteca Apostolica eingebunden. Die Liste der Veröffentlichungen zählt 18 Monographien, 160 Aufsätze und 13 Rezensionen.[1] Darunter sind 47 Titel, vom Autor selbst ausgewählt, in einer Schriftensammlung anastatisch nachgedruckt worden und durch mehrere Indices erschlossen, die zeigen, welche Schwerpunkte ihm besonders wichtig waren und einer größeren Öffentlichkeit bequem zugänglich sein sollten:[2] nämlich Entwicklung und Analyse der byzantinischen Buchschrift (und hier wiederum in erster Linie der Minuskel), also die Paläographie, sowie das materielle Zustandekommen der Handschrift und ihre Geschichte bis in die Gegenwart, die Kodikologie. Auch wenn diese beiden Bereiche von ihrer unterschiedlichen Methode her und den daraus resultierenden Ergebnissen bis zu einem gewissen Grad getrennt betrachtet und behandelt werden müssen, hat Canart immer wieder betont, dass beide Methoden einander ergänzen, um im Codex einen Gesamtkomplex zu sehen, der aus der Schrift und dem Schreiber, dem Beschreibstoff, der Anordnung der Hefte, den Bemerkungen und Ergänzungen durch die Leser, dem Einband (der nur in seltenen Fällen in die Entstehungszeit zurückführt) und den Spuren der Aufenthaltsorte (Bibliotheken) besteht. Diese Gesamtsicht hat Paul Canart in einem Beitrag, der auch der Kommission für sein Pariser Doktorat vorlag, magistral, gewissermaßen als Quintessenz einer Handschriftenkunde, dargelegt.[3] Sie zeigt sich aber auch in vielen Einzelstudien, von denen wir einige wenige an dieser Stelle hervorheben wollen.[4]

In bahnbrechender Weise exemplifizierte er die Grundlagen einer „Archäologie der Handschrift“ bereits in einer Publikation aus dem Jahr 1964 zur Kopis-

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1 Eine vollständige, bis 2018 reichende Liste hat M. L. Agati, Paul Canart. Una vita per i manoscritti. *Byzantion* 88 (2018) 5–44 zusammengestellt.

2 P. Canart, Études de Paléographie et de Codicologie. Reproduites avec la collaboration de M. L. Agati et M. d’Agostino. 2 Bde. Vatikan 2008.

3 De la catalographie à l’histoire du livre, zuerst erschienen in *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 563–616, wieder abgedruckt in: Études de Paléographie et Codicologie (wie oben Fußnote 2) 523–576.

4 Zu einer detaillierten Einordnung der vielen Studien in den Rahmen der Methode der Paläographie und der Erstellung einer Systematik verweisen wir auf die Würdigung des Lebenswerkes durch M. L. Agati, Paul Canart (wie oben Fußnote 1).

tentätigkeit des Emmanuel Provataris,[5] dem ähnliche Studien zu Konstantinos Rhesinos, Nikolaos Severos oder Johannes Nathanael, um nur einige zu nennen, folgten, bei denen die minutiöse Erforschung des Schreibstiles es möglich machte, Kopistenhände auch ohne Subskription zu identifizieren. Dank der Studie über Provataris ist diese Methode zu einer zentralen Grundlage der modernen Handschriftenforschung geworden, gerade weil Canart selbst die Wege seiner Forschungen immer von neuem unter die Lupe nahm und der Kritik unterzog. Der ständige Zweifel an allen Resultaten, der sich durch neue Funde vertiefte und immer wieder zu neuen Recherchen führte, durchzieht wie ein roter Faden sein Lebenswerk. Er lässt den Leser an den Problemen teilhaben, vor allem aber: er stellt offen die Fragen, und zögert doch bei aller Skepsis nicht niederzuschreiben, was nach den momentanen Erkenntnissen die beste Lösung zu sein scheint, auch wenn er sie in einer späteren Arbeit ergänzt und verändert. Mit derselben rigiden Methode öffnete er den Weg zu den süditalienischen Handschriften der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit mit einer Studie in fast lexikonartiger Weise mit dem Titel „Le problème du style d'écriture dit „en as de pique" dans les manuscrits italo-grecs" (1969),[6] die zum Ausgangspunkt für vielfältige Arbeiten mit griechischen Handschriften der Italia Byzantina wurde. Zusammen mit Jules Leroy griff er 1974 einen weiteren unteritalienischen Schriftstil auf, jenen von Reggio, beschränkte sich aber nicht auf paläographische Beobachtungen allein, sondern bezog in die Fragestellung kodikologische Gesichtspunkte wie Format, Tinte, Zeilensysteme, Zusammensetzung der Faszikel und nicht zuletzt illustrative Elemente mit ein. Zur selben Zeit richtete er seine Aufmerksamkeit erstmals auch auf zypriotische Schriften, im besonderen die „chypriote bouclée",[7] und weitete schließlich diese Untersuchungen auf eine Periodisierung aller zypriotischer Buchschriften aus,[8] so dass Provenienz- und Datierungsmethoden und -kriterien für eine weitere Provinz des byzantinischen Reiches geschaffen wurden.

Auch wenn das Schwergewicht der Forschungen von Paul Canart vielleicht doch im Bereich der Paläographie liegt, so sind seine innovativen Recherchen auf dem Sektor der Kodikologie nicht geringer, obwohl er, wie bereits hervorgehoben, diese Trennung selbst nur schwerlich akzeptiert hätte, und seine vielen Arbeiten über die Kopisten, beginnend mit der bereits genannten über Emmanuel Provataris, auch beredte Beispiele einer methodischen und inhaltlichen Einheit darstellen. Die Kodikologie umfasst für ihn – und in seiner Folge die moderne

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5 Les manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Provataris (1546 – 1570). Essai d'étude codicologique (Études de Paléographie, wie oben Fußnote 2, 33 – 166).

6 Études de Paléographie (wie oben Fußnote 2) 215 – 229.

7 Ébd. 319 – 340 und 1155 – 1168.

8 Ebd. 677 – 747.

Handschriftenkunde aller Bereiche – die Erforschung der „Archäologie der Handschrift“ und aller materieller Faktoren, die einen Text erst sichtbar machen und die Voraussetzung bieten, dass er der Nachwelt erhalten bleiben kann. So einfach diese Feststellung klingen mag, so ist sie in Vielem ein Resultat der synoptischen Analysen des verstorbenen Gelehrten. Die theoretischen Grundlagen hat er (mit Marilena MANIACI und Patrick ANDRIST) erst sehr spät niedergelegt,[9] aber eine Reihe von Einzelarbeiten gehen voran: über materielle und soziale Aspekte des Buches in Unteritalien (1968), über neue Arbeitsinstrumente im Bereich der Kodikologie (1979), zu bestimmten Papierarten (1982, 1993, 1999), über die Einbandkunde (1985) und schließlich auch über die Tintenanalyse (1993).

Im Grunde genommen aber wollte Paul Canart Katalogisator von Handschriften sein und die vielen und vielfältigen Arbeiten, von denen oben nur wenige erwähnt werden konnten, sind ein verselbständigter Ausfluss dieser Tätigkeit, derentwegen er 1957 an die Biblioteca Apostolica geholt wurde: „J'ai été d'abord et je reste avant tout un catalogueur des manuscrits grecs“ schreibt er in seinem Exposé an die Kommission seiner Pariser Thèse.[10] Auch seine Arbeiten zu den Kopisten und die vielen Studien zu einzelnen Handschriften enthalten Elemente des Handschriftenkatalogs, wie er den Vorstellungen Canarts entsprach. Waren die Handschriftenkataloge der vatikanischen Bibliothek schon seit der Festlegung rigider Katalogisierungsnormen durch Giovanni MERCATI zu Beginn der zwanziger Jahre des letzten Jahrhunderts ein weltweites Vorbild für die Beschreibung von Handschriften, so hat die von Paul Canart erstellte Trilogie, wie ich es nennen möchte, zu den 317 griechischen Handschriften der Signaturen 1745 – 1962 weitere neue Maßstäbe gesetzt. Erstmals hat hier ein Katalogisator die kodikologische Beschreibung nach Sachgruppen untergliedert und dazu in einem eigenen Band verschiedene Indices vereinigt, die eine lückenlose Erschließung des umfangreichen Inhaltes des ersten Bandes erlauben. In einem dritten Band schließlich hat er die Provenienzgeschichte der Sammlung beschrieben. Der Verfasser dieses Nachrufs, damals selbst mit der Abfassung eines Vatikanischen Kataloges beauftragt, hat die Schlussphase aller drei Volumina miterlebt, die in ihrer Unübertreffbarkeit im Augenblick fast furchterregend waren.

Gerade in jenem Jahr (1969), als der erste Band des richtungweisenden neuen Katalogs der Druckerei anvertraut war, begründete Paul Canart an der Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica den Unterricht in griechischer Paläographie als Ergänzung der paläographischen Ausbildung für Studierende,

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9 La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale (mit P. ANDRIST und M. MANIACI). Turnhout 2013.

10 Études de Paléographie (wie Anm. 2) 532.

die an italienischen Universitäten, in erster Linie in Rom, bereits eine traditionelle Stelle einnahm, nun aber durch das unmittelbare Studium vielfältiger Handschriften und die Persönlichkeit des Lehrers eine besondere Ausformung erhielt. Nicht wenige junge Wissenschaftler, die hier ausgebildet wurden, erhielten Stellen an den Handschriftensammlungen italienischer Bibliotheken oder nahmen später Professuren an italienischen Universitäten ein und trugen ihre Erfahrungen auch ins Ausland. Wenngleich die Biblioteca Apostolica sein bevorzugter Wirkungskreis war und das Studium der Handschrift (fast) sein ganzes Interesse einnahm, war ihm immer angelegen, Bedeutung und Wesen der Handschrift auch größeren Kreisen zu vermitteln. Seit 1974 hielt er grundlegende Vorträge auf den Kongressen der Association Internationale d'Études Paléographiques, die dank der gedruckten Akten auch weite Verbreitung fanden. Seine untrüglichen Fachkenntnisse kamen auch Ausstellungen griechischer Handschriften zugute (Vatikan 1988, Grottaferrata 2000, Sofia 2011), oder konnten in die Gestaltung großer neuer Sammlungen einfließen, wie dies der Fall war, als es galt, in Zusammenwirken mit Axinia Džurova die Handschriften einer umfangreichen Klosterbibliothek im Dujčev-Institut Sofia zu bewerten und zu ordnen.[11]

Paul Canart wirkte immer bescheiden, oft beinahe schüchtern, inmitten der enormen Bücherschätze der Bibliothek. Sein konzentrierter, fast strenger Blick ließ auch Freunde und Mitarbeiter manchmal zögern, ihn anzusprechen. Wenn aber der Bann gebrochen war, entwickelte sich ein oft heiteres, persönliches Gespräch. Außerhalb der Bibliothek, in legerer Kleidung, zeigte er sich als von vielen Lasten befreit und war froh, erzählen zu können und den Erzählungen anderer zuhören zu dürfen. Er war 60 Jahre in einer Bibliothek tätig, die nicht nur von der Anzahl her die meisten griechischen Handschriften (nach den Klöstern des Athos) beherbergt, sondern die auch die größte Vielfalt an unterschiedlichen Texten und Materialien aufweist, und es erlaubt, zusammen mit dem riesigen Apparat gedruckter Werke, für alle Fragestellungen wo nicht eine Antwort, so doch eine exemplarische Ausgangsbasis zu finden. Dies sind wichtige, aber doch letztlich nur äußere Voraussetzungen für das umfangreiche und tiefschürfende Œuvre, das auf dem schier unbegrenzten Wissen des Verstorbenen und seiner feinen Intellektualität beruht. Diese Eigenschaften sind begleitet von einer präzisen sprachlichen Diktion, die auch schwer darstellbare Vorgänge zu einer spannenden Lektüre werden lässt und der Ausdrucksfähigkeit des Französischen als Wissenschaftssprache, besonders im Bereich der Buchkunde, zu weiterer Verbreitung verhalf.

11 Im Gedenken an diese Tätigkeit des Verstorbenen in Bulgarien ist Band 8 (2017) der „Bulgaria Mediaevalis" (Sofia) Paul Canart gewidmet.

Wenn Bernard de Montfaucon der Schöpfer einer griechischen Paläographie und Kodikologie in lateinischem Gewand ist, so hat Paul Canart eine den Fortschritten adäquate Definition und Methode entwickelt und der Katalogisierung neue Impulse gegeben. Die neue Epoche, von der eingangs die Rede war, endet nicht mit seinem Tod, sondern ist die Voraussetzung für jeden weiteren Umgang mit griechischen (und auch lateinischen) Handschriften, nicht zuletzt, weil Flexibilität wie Skepsis seiner Sichtweise auch die Wege in die Zukunft bestimmen werden.

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Urs Peschlow (11. 3. 1943 – 16. 3. 2018)

Urs Peschlow wurde am 11. März 1943 in Hannover als Sohn des Oberregierungsrates Dr. Martin Peschlow und seiner Frau Margot, geb. Schuphan, geboren. Nach der Schulzeit in Hannover studierte er seit dem Sommersemester 1962 an der Universität Marburg Kunstgeschichte, Klassische und Christliche Archäologie. Sein prägender Lehrer in Marburg wurde Richard Hamann-MacLean, der nicht nur Spezialist für die französische Gotik war, sondern ebenso auf dem Gebiet der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte forschte und seine Schüler in dieses Gebiet einführte.[12] 1964/65 studierte er an der Universität Thessaloniki bei Stylianos Pelekanides und nahm an einer Grabungskampagne in Philippi teil. Er setzte dann sein Studium in Marburg fort und ging nach dem Wechsel von Hamann-MacLean mit diesem zum Wintersemester 1967/68 an die Universität Mainz, wo er im Juni 1970 mit einer Arbeit zur Baugeschichte der Irenenkirche in Istanbul promoviert wurde.[13] Schon das Thema der Dissertation zeigt seinen bevorzugten Forschungsschwerpunkt: die byzantinische Architekturgeschichte. Bereits diese Arbeit zeigt die überaus sorgfältige, ganz von der minutiösen Analyse des Baubefundes ausgehende Arbeitsweise Peschlows, die charakteristisch für seine weiteren Publikationen werden sollte, geprägt sicher vom ähnlich intensiven

12 Siehe U. Peschlow, Richard Hamann-MacLean. *BZ* 93 (2000) 804 – 806.
13 Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul. Untersuchungen zur Architektur. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft* 18. Tübingen 1977. – Von seiner lebenslangen Beschäftigung mit den Problemen der Irenenkirche zeugt der Aufsatz: Die Baugeschichte der Irenenkirche in Istanbul neu betrachtet, in C. L. Striker (Hrsg.), Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer. Mainz 1996, 133 – 136.

Umgehen seines Lehrers Hamann-MacLean mit gotischer Architektur. Schon als Student hatte er 1966 und 1967 an den Arbeiten von Jürgen Borchardt und Otto Feld in Myra teilgenommen, womit der Weg nach Kleinasien und die Leidenschaft für die Feldarchäologie gewiesen war.

Nach der Promotion erhielt er einen Werkvertrag am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Rom zur Mitarbeit am Corpus der Kapitelle von San Marco in Venedig[14], womit ein weiterer Schwerpunkt seiner zukünftigen Arbeiten sichtbar wird: die byzantinische Bauskulptur. In Rom arbeitete er für Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, der ihm wie einigen wenigen anderen Kollegen zum „Meister" wurde. 1971 wurde er Referent am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Istanbul, jener Stadt, deren byzantinische Bauten ihn sein ganzes Leben lang begleiten sollten. Auch nach dem Ende der Referententätigkeit 1975 blieb er noch bis 1979 mit einem DFG-Stipendium in Istanbul. In seiner Istanbuler Zeit beschäftigte er sich sowohl mit den Monumenten Konstantinopels wie mit dem ganzen byzantinischen Kleinasien und erwarb sich durch ausgedehnte Reisen eine umfassende Ortskenntnis. Gemeinsam mit Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann unternahm er auch Forschungen in Nordmesopotamien.[15] 1979/80 verbrachte er als Fellow in Dumbarton Oaks, um seine Forschungen zum Latmos fortzusetzen.

Ab 1981 lehrte er zunächst als wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, ab 1983 als Hochschulassistent an der Christlich-Archäologische Abteilung der Universität Göttingen unter Ekkehard Mühlenberg. 1985 wurde er als Nachfolger von Otto Feld Professor am Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz. Hier setzte er sich für die Einrichtung eines eigenständigen Arbeitsbereichs und Studiengangs Christliche Archäologie und Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte ein,[16] dessen Etablierung ihm 1991 gelang. So konnte er dann in Mainz mehrere Dissertationen (u. a. Michael Altripp, Philipp Niewöhner, Andreas Thiel, Ursula Weißbrod) und Magisterarbeiten betreuen. Von 2001 bis 2004 war er am Mainzer Graduiertenkolleg „Raum und Ritual. Funktion, Bedeutung und Nutzung sakral bestimmter Räume und Orte" beteiligt. Im Jahr 2005 begründete er mit Günter

14 F.W. Deichmann (Hrsg.), Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig. Wiesbaden 1981.
15 Mit F. W. Deichmann, Zwei spätantike Ruinenstätten in Nordmesopotamien. München 1977.
16 An zwei Stellen hat er sich zur Geschichte und Definition des Fachs Byzantinische Archäologie geäußert: Christliche Archäologie – Byzantinische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, in J. M. Beyer, Archäologie. Von der Schatzsuche zur Wissenschaft. Mainz 2010, 192 – 203; Byzantinische Archäologie: der erste Zugang zu Denkmälern, in B. Fourlas / V. Tsamakda (Hrsg.), Wege nach Byzanz. Publikation anlässlich der Ausstellung Mainz 6. November 2011 bis 5. Februar 2012. Mainz 2011, 144 – 153; mit G. Prinzing, Die Wege der Wissenschaft: die byzantinischen Studien als akademische Disziplin an deutschen Universitäten (154 – 161), ebd. 145 – 161.

Prinzing, Jürgen Oldenstein und Falko Daim die interdisziplinäre „Byzantinische Archäologie Mainz“, eine Kooperation der Universität mit dem Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, aus der 2011 der überaus erfolgreiche „Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz: Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident“ hervorging. Seit 1981 war er korrespondierendes Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1996 wurde er zum Fachgutachter für das Fach Byzantinistik (Kunstgeschichte) der DFG gewählt.

Mit seiner Pensionierung 2008 begann für ihn keine Zeit des Ruhestands, sondern es war ihm, nun frei von den von ihm immer sehr ernst genommenen Lehrverpflichtungen, möglich, sich ganz seinen zahlreichen Projekten zu widmen. In rascher Folge konnte er jetzt das vorlegen, was er in Jahrzehnten gesammelt hatte. Jäh gestoppt wurde seine Arbeit durch eine heimtückische Krankheit, die dazu führte, dass er viele begonnene Projekte nicht mehr abschließen konnte. Er hat aber persönlich seine Vorarbeiten und Materialsammlungen an jüngere Kollegen übergeben, die diese in seinem Sinne publizieren sollen. Nur wenige Tage nach seinem 75. Geburtstag verstarb Urs Peschlow am 16. März 2018 in Wiesbaden.

Wie schon bemerkt galt sein wissenschaftliches Interesse vor allem zwei Gebieten: Den Monumenten des byzantinischen Konstantinopel und Kleinasiens und der byzantinischen Bauskulptur. Zu nennen sind hier für Konstantinopel seine Arbeiten zur Studioskirche[17] und zur Bauplastik der Kalenderhane Camii[18], mit deren Bearbeiter Cecil L. Striker er auch persönlich eng verbunden war. 2007 führte er eine Untersuchung im Skeuophylakion der Hagia Sophia durch.[19] In Kleinasien lag sein Schwerpunkt seit frühen Jahren in Lykien, Feldforschungen und Untersuchungen führte er anfänglich vor allem in Myra[20] und in Limyra[21]

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17 Die Johanneskirche des Stoudios in Istanbul. Bericht über die jüngsten Untersuchungsergebnisse. *JÖB* 32/4 (1982) 429 – 434.

18 Architectural Sculpture, in C. L. Striker / Y. D. Kuban (Hrsg.), Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The buildings, their history, architecture, and decoration. Mainz 1997, 101 – 111; Byzantine architectural sculpture. The brickstamps, in C. L. Striker / Y. D. Kuban (Hrsg.), Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The excavations. Mainz 2007, 295 – 342. 343 – 371.

19 Observations in the so-called Skevophylakion of Ayasofya in İstanbul. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 26/ 2 (2008) 391 – 396.

20 Fragmente eines Heiligensarkophags in Myra. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 23/24 (1973/74) 225 – 231; Die Architektur der Nikolaoskirche in Myra, in J. Borchhardt (Hrsg.), Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit. *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 30. Berlin 1975, 303 – 359; Materialien zur Kirche des H. Nikolaos in Myra im Mittelalter. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 40 (1990) 207 – 258; Die Burg von Myra, in F. Blakolmer u. a. (Hrsg.), Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift J. Borchhardt. Wien 1996, I 209 – 226; Die byzantinische Kaiserinschrift aus Myra – wiedergefunden. *Lykia* 3 (1996/97 [2000]) 75 – 77; Myra, *RBK* (2002) 806 – 839.

durch. Daran schlossen sich Studien zu weiteren Orten an.[22] Ausgrabungen führte er noch einmal von 2009 bis 2012 an einer Friedhofskirche in Patara durch, darüber konnte er nur Vorberichte vorlegen, die Endpublikation war ihm nicht mehr vergönnt.[23] Zu nennen sind in Kleinasien weiter Didyma[24], Iznik/Nikaia[25] und vor allem das Latmosgebiet, wo er seit 1973 im Rahmen des von Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat geleiteten Surveys die byzantinischen Befunde bearbeitete[26], ferner Untersuchungen zu Befestigungsanlagen.[27] Als grabungserfahrenem Archäologen waren ihm auch Kleinfunde wie etwa Keramik nicht fremd.[28] Seine letzte Mono-

21 Die Bischofskirche in Limyra (Lykien), in: Actes du Xe congres international d'archéologie chrétienne, Thessalonique 1980. Città del Vaticano 1984, II 409 – 421; Grabungen und Forschungen in Limyra aus den Jahren 1991 – 1996. Nachuntersuchungen an der Bischofskirche. *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 66 (1997) Beiblatt 384 – 390.

22 Spuren des byzantinischen Mittelalters in Lykien, in: Akten des II. Lykien-Symposiums. Wien 1990. Wien 1993, Bd. 2, 59 – 70; Die Kirche von Tersane auf Kekova Adası. Überlegungen zum lykischen Kirchenbau, in C. Özgünel u. a. (Hrsg.), Günışığında Anadolu. Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu için Yazılar. Istanbul 2001, 197 – 208.

23 The cemetery church at the Tepecik Necropolis of Patara. A preliminary report, in H. İşkan / F. Işık (Hrsg.), From sand into a city. 25 years of Patara excavations. Istanbul 2015, 463 – 474. Siehe auch Patara, in Ph. Niewöhner (Hrsg.), The archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. Oxford 2017, 280 – 290.

24 Byzantinische Plastik in Didyma. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 25 (1975) 211 – 257; Nachtrag zur byzantinischen Plastik in Didyma. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 26 (1976) 143 – 147.

25 Neue Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Ausstattung der Koimesiskirche in Iznik. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22 (1972) 145 – 187; The Churches of Nicaea-İznik, in I. Akbaygil u. a. (Hrsg.), İznik throughout history. Istanbul 2003, 201 – 208; Die Kirche am Yenişehir kapı in İznik / Nikaia, in S. Doğan / M. Kadiroğlu (Hrsg.), Bizans ve çevre kültürler. Prof. Dr. S. Yıldız Ötüken'e Armağan. Istanbul 2010, 267 – 291; Nicaea, in Ph. Niewöhner (Hrsg.), The archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. Oxford 2017, 203 – 216.

26 Latmos, *RBK* 5 (1993) 651 – 716; Die Latmosregion in byzantinischer Zeit, in A. Peschlow-Bindokat, Der Latmos. Eine unbekannte Gebirgslandschaft an der türkischen Westküste. Mainz 1996, 58 – 86; Die Latmosregion in byzantinischer Zeit, in A. Peschlow-Bindokat, Herakleia am Latmos. Stadt und Umgebung. Istanbul 2005, 161 – 201. Latmos, in Ph. Niewöhner (Hrsg.), The archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. Oxford 2017, 264 – 268.

27 Das Südtor von Perge, in I. Delemen u. a. (Hrsg.), Euergetes. Festschrift H. Abbasoğlu. Antalya 2008, Bd. 2, 971 – 987; Mauerbau in krisenloser Zeit? Zu spätantiken Stadtbefestigungen im südlichen Kleinasien: Der Fall Side, in D. Kreikenbom u. a. (Hrsg.), Krise und Kult. Vorderer Orient und Nordafrika von Aurelian bis Justinian. Berlin / New York 2010, 61 – 108.

28 Byzantinische Keramik aus Istanbul. Ein Fundkomplex bei der Irenenkirche. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 27/28 (1977/78) 363 – 414; Zur byzantinischen Keramik. Beşiktepe 1982. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1984) 183 – 186.

graphie widmete er dem römischen und byzantinischen Ankara[29]: Hier legte er seine über Jahrzehnte in Archiven, Photosammlungen und vor allem vor den Monumenten selbst gewonnen Ergebnisse vor, die ein gänzlich neues Bild der Stadt, insbesondere der Stadtbefestigung und der Klemenskirche, ergeben. Urs Peschlow hat hiermit wie mit allen seinen Arbeiten Wesentliches für die Erforschung des byzantinischen Kleinasiens geleistet.

Auf dem Gebiet der byzantinischen Plastik galt nicht nur Kapitellen[30] und Schrankenplatten seine Aufmerksamkeit, sondern auch vernachlässigten Objekten des täglichen Lebens wie etwa Mörsern.[31] Die Bauskulptur wurde von ihm immer als Teil der Architektur gesehen, zu der sie gehörte, was zu grundlegenden Arbeiten zu liturgischen Ausstattungsobjekten wie Altären,[32] Ambonen[33] und Schrankenanlagen[34] führte. Ebenso wurde die figürliche Plastik dabei einbezogen, meist ausgehend von Neufunden.[35] 1994 veranstalte er in Mainz eine Tagung zur byzantinischen Bauskulptur.[36] Mehrfach widmete er sich byzantinischen Ehren-

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29 Ankara. Die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit. Mit einem Beitrag von Wolfram Brandes. Wien 2015. Siehe auch Ancyra in Ph. Niewöhner (Hrsg.), The archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. Oxford 2017, 349 – 360.

30 Hervorzuheben der Artikel Kapitell, *RAC* 20 (2002) 57 – 123.

31 Byzantinische Mörser. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993) 487 – 493.

32 Altar und Reliquie. Form und Nutzung des frühbyzantinischen Reliquienaltars in Konstantinopel, in M. Altripp / C. Nauerth (Hrsg.), Architektur und Liturgie. Akten des Kolloquiums 2003 in Greifswald. Wiesbaden 2006, 175 – 202.

33 Der mittelbyzantinische Ambo aus archäologischer Sicht, in: Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα. Athen 1994, 255 – 260.

34 Zum Templon in Konstantinopel, in: Αρμός. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή N.K. Μουτσόπουλο. Thessaloniki 1991, Bd. 3, 1449 – 1475; Dividing interior space in early Byzantine churches: the barriers between the nave and the aisles, in S. Gerstel (Hrsg.), Thresholds of the sacred. Washington D.C. 2006, 53 – 71.

35 Konstantinopel. Reliefskulptur im Kirchenraum, in H. Beck / K. Hengevoss-Dürkopp (Hrsg.), Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Skulptur im 12./13. Jh. Frankfurt 1994, 275 – 285; Ein paläologisches Reliefdenkmal in Konstantinopel. *Gesta* 33/2 (1994) 93 – 103; Anmerkungen zur oströmischen Sarkophagplastik, in: Akten des XII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991. Münster 1995, II 1101 – 1106; Überlegungen zur oströmischen Sarkophagskulptur. Ein neues Fragment aus Iznik/Nikaia, in L. Hoffmann (Hrsg.), Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Wiesbaden 2005, 823 – 844. Skulptur in Konstantinopel vor und nach der Lateinerherrschaft, in: First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium: Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Istanbul 2010, 587 – 603; Ein neues Fragment einer Reliefikone und seine Deutung, in A.C. Erel u.a. (Hrsg.). Anadolu Kültürlerinde Süreklilik ve Değişim. Dr. A. Mine Kadiroğlu'na Armağan. Ankara 2011, 465 – 477.

36 Mit S. Möllers (Hrsg.), Spätantike und byzantinische Bauskulptur. Beiträge eines Symposiums in Mainz, Februar 1994. Stuttgart 1998.

säulen, der Gotensäule in Konstantinopel,[37] einer von ihm identifizierten neuen Monumentalsäule in Konstantinopel[38] und der sog. Juliansäule in Ankara.[39] In diesem Zusammenhang zu nennen ist auch seine Studie zur Tetrarchengruppe in Venedig, in der er ein bereits 1971 von ihm entdecktes Säulenfragment, die sog. Pietra del bando und die Tetrarchen als Teile eines einstmaligen Säulenmonuments in Konstantinopel rekonstruieren konnte.[40] Seine Meisterschaft in der Behandlung eines jeden byzantinischen Steins zeigen seine beiden letzten, erst posthum erschienenen Aufsätze, ausgehend von der genauen Einzelanalyse führen sie zu überraschenden Ergebnissen.[41] Auch seine zahlreichen Rezensionen zu bauhistorischen Werken zeugen immer wieder von seiner genauen Kenntnis der Bauten und seinen scharfen Blick bis ins Detail. Seine immer von Einzelbefunden ausgehenden Arbeitsweise und Scheu vor Generalisierungen erklärt wohl auch das Fehlen übergreifender Studien zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Architektur aus seiner Feder.[42]

Mit Urs Peschlow hat die Byzantinische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte nicht nur einen ihrer herausragenden Forscher und Lehrer verloren, viele Kolleginnen, Kollegen und Nachwuchswissenschaftler werden diesen immer aufmerksamen und hilfsbereiten klugen Ratgeber vermissen. Sein Wissen und seine Materialsammlungen waren unerschöpflich und er hat damit gerne weitergehol-

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37 Betrachtungen zur Gotensäule in Istanbul, in: Tesserae. Festschrift J. Engemann. Münster 1991, 215 – 228.

38 Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule in Istanbul, in O. Feld / U. Peschlow (Hrsg.), Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst. Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet. Bonn 1986, Bd. 1, 23 – 33.

39 Ankara (wie oben Fußnote 29) 131 – 138.

40 Mit Ph. Niewöhner, Neues zu den Tetrarchenfiguren in Venedig und ihrer Aufstellung in Konstantinopel. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 62 (2012) 341 – 367.

41 Am Kai von Konstantinopel. Reste einer Repräsentationsarchitektur an der Sarayspitze, in M. Korres u. a. (Hrsg.), ήρως κτίστης. Μνήμη Χαραλάμπου Μπούρα. Athen 2018, Bd. 2, 439 – 458; Die Gabriel-Platte in Antalya. Rekonstruktion und ursprünglicher Kontext. *Adalya* 21 (2018) 229 – 244.

42 Abgesehen von zwei kurzen Überblicken für Studierende und ein breiteres Publikum: Frühbyzantinische Architektur. Konstantinopel und Ravenna, in: Kunsthistorische Arbeitsblätter Heft 12. Köln 2003, 27 – 38; Die Baukunst im byzantinischen Reich, in: Byzanz. Pracht und Alltag. Katalog der Ausstellung Bonn 2010. München 2010, 62 – 75.

fen. Seine Begeisterung für Byzanz und insbesondere das byzantinische Kleinasien lebt bei vielen von uns weiter.[43]

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Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova (7. 8. 1924 – 9. 9. 2018)

Am 9. September 2018 hat uns die Doyenne der bulgarischen Byzantinistik Prof. Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova verlassen. Sie ist eine hervorragende Wissenschaftlerin gewesen.

V. Tăpkova-Zaimova hatte das Studium der klassischen Philologie an der St-Kliment-Ochridski-Universität in Sofia abgeschlossen und ihren ersten wissenschaftlichen Beitrag im Jahre 1951 publiziert. Von da bis heute sind ihre wissenschaftlichen und populärwissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen über 600 an der Zahl.[44]

Sie leistete einen großen Beitrag zur Bekanntmachung der byzantinischen und westlichen Quellen über die bulgarische Geschichte, indem sie Dutzende von Quellen aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen übersetzte und diese in den Buchreihen Griechische und Lateinische Quellen in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren publizierte. Von großem wissenschaftlichen Wert sind ihre Monographien: Invasionen und ethnischer Wandel auf dem Balkan im 6 – 7. Jh. (1966); Die Inschrift von Bitolja des Ivan Vladislav – bulgarischer Selbstherrscher; Ein altbulgarisches Denkmal aus dem Jahre 1015/1016 (zusammen mit ihrem Ehemann Jordan Zaimov, 1970); Die Unterdonau, Grenzzone des byzantinischen Westens. Zur Geschichte der nördlichen und nordöstlichen bulgarischen Territorien, Ende des 10.–12. Jh.; (1976); Das historisch-apokalyptische Schrifttum in Byzanz und im mittelalterlichen Bulgarien (zusammen mit Anisava Miltenova, 1996, englische Version 2011); „Bulgaren der Geburt nach…“. Die Comitopulen, der Zar Samuil und seine Nachfahren nach den Geschichtsquellen und der historiographischen Tradition (2009, 2014 – englische Version: Bulgarians by birth. The Comitopuls, Emperor Samuel and their successors according to historical sources and the historiogra-

43 Siehe auch den Nachruf von B. Böhlendorf-Arslan. *Antike Welt* 49/3 (2018) 5.
44 Zur Bibliographie der Schriften von Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova siehe: *Studia balcanica* 25 (2006) 25 – 58; *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 4 – 5 (2013 – 2014) 595 – 599.

phic tradition (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450 – 1450, Vol. 47. Leiden 2018.).

Zahlreiche Beiträge der Professorin Tăpkova-Zaimova wurden in einigen Sammelbänden wieder gedruckt: Byzance et les Balkans à partir du VIe siècle, les mouvements ethniques et les États (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979); Byzance, la Bulgarie, les Balkans. Plovdiv: Bulgarian historical heritage foundation, 2010.

Eines der Lieblingsthemen im Schaffen der bulgarischen Historikerin war der Heilige Demetrios. Über ihn und über seine Stellung in der byzantinischen und der bulgarischen mittelalterlichen Literatur verfasste sie Dutzende von Artikeln und Studien.

Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova war ein enorm lebendiger und tätiger Mensch. Neben der Übersetzungsarbeit und der wissenschaftlichen Forschung war sie unermüdlich als Hochschullehrerin an den bulgarischen Universitäten tätig; sie beteiligte sich zudem an fast allen Kongressen der byzantinischen Forschung in den letzten fünf Jahrzehnten und hielt Vorträge auf zahlreichen wissenschaftlichen Foren im Bereich der Byzantinistik und Mediävistik. Jahrzehntelang spielte sie eine wichtige Rolle bei der wissenschaftlichen Redaktion und Herausgabe der angesehenen Zeitschrift *Études balkaniques* sowie der Reihe *Studia balcanica*. Bis zu den letzten Tagen ihres langen Lebens beschäftigte sie sich mit wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen und verfolgte die Errungenschaften des Nachwuchses.

Die Byzantinistik in Bulgarien und weltweit erweist einer verdienten Wissenschaftlerin auf diesem Gebiet die letzte Ehre. Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova wird für immer im Gedächtnis des Kollegiums bleiben, oder wie Cicero schreibt: *Vita enim mortuorum in memoria est posita vivorum!*

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